

# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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## CIVILIZATION AND CULTURE

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IN contemporary sociology and anthropology, the conceptual distinction between material and nonmaterial culture is one which is widely adopted. This paper is devoted both to an examination of the bases of this discrimination and to the presentation of another set of categories which, it is believed, are of greater sociological value.

The one sociological work which most systematically and consistently uses the concepts of material and non-material culture is Ogburn's *Social Change*. For this reason it may best serve as a springboard for the ensuing discussion. Despite the paramount role of these concepts in Ogburn's theory, he not only fails to define them explicitly but, in common with other theorists who use these conceptions, he does not demonstrate their sociological pertinence or utility. The closest approximation to a definition is found in the statement that "a special term, material culture, is frequently used, giving particular emphasis to the material features of culture."<sup>1</sup> Obviously, this statement is far from being definitive. It describes neither the properties of that which is to be defined nor the set of operations which constitute the concept.

Numerous examples of these two types of culture are, however, introduced. Several conclusions are immediately

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: Viking Press, 1926), 4.

forthcoming when these are compared. First, the same cultural trait is at times classified as material, at others as nonmaterial. For example, the use of objects and substances is a part of material culture (p. 72) while ways of doing things and rules involved in handling technical appliances are nonmaterial (pp. 28, 44, 271, *et passim*). Again, the methods of making objects are, by implication, both material and nonmaterial (pp. 12, 105, 106).<sup>1</sup> The most frequent practice is to restrict material culture to material *objects*, that is, to matter which has been modified by man.<sup>2</sup> Yet this cannot be taken as the definitive distinction since many times, explicitly and implicitly, certain types of behavior—which, for the most part, is classified as nonmaterial—are included in the category of material culture (*e.g.*, 72-73). The distinction between the types of culture thus becomes in practice increasingly attenuated.

That this confusion is not due to the vagaries of only one theorist is evidenced by similarly inadequate discriminations on the part of other sociologists and anthropologists who use these concepts.<sup>2</sup> Thus, Clark Wissler lists the following as material culture traits: (1) food *habits*, (2) shelter, (3) *transportation and travel*, (4) dress, (5) utensils, tools, *et cetera*, (6) weapons, and (7) occupations and industries.<sup>3</sup> Reviewing this list, it is difficult to deduce what the criteria of classification might be. Apparently material culture does not refer simply to material *objects*, for at least three of these complexes—food habits, transportation, and occupations—denote activities or organization of behavior. If, as is plausible, it be said that material culture includes both material *objects* and the behavior

<sup>2</sup> For example, Wallis, Willey, Herskovits, Sapir, Case, Goldenweiser, and, to some extent, Malinowski, treat these concepts in much the same fashion.

<sup>3</sup> Wissler, *Man and Culture* (New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1923), 74ff. [my italics].

oriented toward them, then almost any conceivable part of culture is "material." For example, does not art—which Wissler classifies in a category other than material—similarly denote the manipulation of material objects or the resultant objects themselves? Likewise, would science, religious practices, and property, which are placed in separate categories, be material traits?

In similar fashion, Folsom states that "material culture consists of the artificial arrangement of matter and space relations."<sup>4</sup> Material elements are tools, utensils, buildings, and the like, used for controlling the environment. From this it would follow that much of science and of art, though they are classified in other categories, constitutes part of material culture. Certainly, sculpturing "consists of the artificial arrangement of matter and space relations."

Thus far, our criticism of the use of this pair of concepts has been solely *logical* and *factual*. If this alone were the basis of criticism, the difficulties could easily be obviated by more rigorous definition and new classifications. But when one examines the concepts also from the *methodological* point of view, it becomes evident that the difficulties are rooted deep in the very effort to introduce material and nonmaterial culture as sociological categories of analysis. For the inconsistencies do not arise exclusively from the fact that all material objects of culture are *concretely* always associated with nonmaterial elements. Such difficulties could easily be avoided by recognizing that analytic *abstraction* as used in science always differentiates *concrete* complexes of phenomena into analytically separable aspects. Concepts never fully reproduce the concrete objects or events which influenced their formulation: they are simply symbolizations of those aspects of the concrete

<sup>4</sup> Joseph K. Folsom, *Culture and Social Progress* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), 22.

phenomena which are regarded as *relevant* for the purposes in hand.<sup>5</sup>

It is only when we consider the function of conceptual schemes that the full inadequacy of the material and non-material discrimination becomes evident. One obvious difficulty is that nonmaterial culture is a residual category. Since nonmaterial culture is primarily defined as that which is *not* material culture, there is no reason to suppose that its content will be homogeneous. On the contrary, it is apparent that the elements constituting this category may have very little in common save the absence of "materiality." Hence, would-be generalizations concerning these heterogeneous items are apt to be ill-supported. Moreover, natural classifications and conceptual schemes are not simply convenient catalogues of data for purposes of recognition. They involve the selection of such aspects of the phenomena as may be related by general laws. The system of categories is deemed useful if such laws are found and useless if they are not. In the latter instance, another system is substituted. This is the essential basis for the inadequacy of the conceptual schemes which attempts to differentiate material from nonmaterial culture. No one denies that there are material and nonmaterial (abstractive) elements in culture. But does this alone suffice to render the distinction of sociological significance? Any number of other differences in culture may be noted which are obviously irrelevant to sociology. Thus, material objects of culture may be divided into those which are red, and those which are nonred. Why do we not consider this clearly absurd distinction of significance for sociology, even though it is grounded in fact? The correct answer is, I think, that no differential sociological attributes are

<sup>5</sup> E. W. Hobson, *The Domain of Natural Science* (Aberdeen University Press, 1923), 25ff; V. Pareto, *Traité de sociologie générale* (Paris: Payot, 1917-19), I, 14ff.

uniformly associated with red and nonred objects. That is to say, the discrimination is primarily *physical*, not *sociological*.

This is likewise true of material and nonmaterial culture. All the sociological characteristics which it is asserted are peculiar to one of these "types of culture" are not peculiar to it alone. They are also associated with some elements of the complementary type of culture. Thus, it is maintained that material culture changes more rapidly (at least in modern Western society), diffuses more readily, and is more accumulative than nonmaterial culture.<sup>6</sup>

The first attribution of differential rates of change is open to criticism on several counts. As Professor Sorokin has indicated,<sup>7</sup> any *precise* comparison of rates of change requires the introduction of a unit of velocity. Though it is correct to state that "there are thousands and thousands of different types of machines for production, all recently invented," the problem still remains as to whether this represents a more rapid change in "material culture" than that evidenced in the "nonmaterial" field by thousands of new laws. Once the specific question is put, the difficulties of setting up even rough comparisons become evident.

Furthermore, even though one overlooks this initial difficulty and assumes that approximate, imprecise comparisons can be made, is it then evident that material culture changes more rapidly than the nonmaterial? Have new technologic inventions (a part of material culture) multiplied more rapidly than scientific discoveries (which, it is maintained, is nonmaterial culture)? Can types of material objects change more rapidly than the "methods of making

<sup>6</sup> Ogburn, *op. cit.*, 268 ff. "The phenomenon of selective accumulation is certainly true of material culture, but it may not be true for other parts of culture, such as religion, science [!], art, law and custom." (p. 77). Cf. Wissler, *op. cit.*, 177.

<sup>7</sup> P. A. Sorokin, "Recent Social Trends: A Criticism," *Journal of Political Economy*, 41:204-5, 1933.

[these] material objects"? The fact is that this generalization is based upon a comparison of some *selected* types of material culture with other *examples* of nonmaterial culture, with the result that those instances which invalidate this "law" are (doubtless, unwittingly) overlooked.<sup>8</sup>

These same considerations apply also to the assertion that material culture diffuses and accumulates to a greater extent than does nonmaterial culture. Obviously, the latter must diffuse at least as readily as the former since material objects are culturally meaningless without the associated "rules involved in handling technical appliances" (which, according to Ogburn, are nonmaterial). In addition, there occurs the diffusion of ideologies and social organization<sup>9</sup> which would imply, if anything, a higher rate of diffusion of the nonmaterial culture.

Finally, Professor Ogburn himself provides the argument which invalidates the proposition that material culture accumulates to a greater extent than the nonmaterial. He observes that "the cumulative nature of the process of material culture lies not in the life of the particular object but in the perpetuation of the *knowledge* of the method of making the object, which is passed on from generation to generation."<sup>10</sup> But if, as has been frequently reiterated,<sup>11</sup> "knowledge" is an element of nonmaterial culture, it is evident that this proposition is not valid.

Once the sociological uniformities asserted to be characteristic of these types of culture are shown to be more apparent than real, this classification becomes clearly irrelevant for sociology as an analytical discipline. At best they

<sup>8</sup> Compare the criticism presented by P. A. Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), 742-46.

<sup>9</sup> Richard T. LaPiere and Cheng Wang, "The Incidence and Sequence of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, 37:399-409, 1931.

<sup>10</sup> *Social Change*, 74. [my italics.]

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, 28, *et passim*.

can merely serve a taxonomic function, since the distinction is essentially a physical, not a sociological, one.

However, the products of social interaction may be otherwise differentiated. The main elements of this distinction have been independently presented by Professors Alfred Weber and R. M. MacIver.<sup>12</sup> It will be noted that the categories of "civilization" and "culture" which they describe and which are presented in a modified form in this paper, "cut across" those of material and nonmaterial culture. That is to say, for reasons already specified, the degree of "materiality" of the social products is regarded as sociologically irrelevant.

MacIver differentiates the two spheres upon the basis of a means-end schema. Civilization is that which is regarded by man as purely instrumental, as a means; while culture comprises every object, activity, and idea which is viewed as an end-in-itself. The essential difficulty with such a distinction is that it is ultimately based upon differences in motivation.<sup>13</sup> But different motives may be basic to the same social activity or cultural activity. Thus, one class of individuals may pursue science purely as an end-in-itself so that their activity would be, according to MacIver's definition, cultural. On the other hand, science may be re-

<sup>12</sup> Alfred Weber, "Prinzipielles zur Kultursoziologie: Gesellschaftsprozess, Zivilisationsprozess und Kulturbewegung," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XLVII (1920), 1-49; *Ideen zur Staats- und Kultursoziologie* (Karlsruhe: G. Braun, 1927); R. M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York: Long & Smith, 1931), 225-36. For brief reviews of the concepts "culture" and "civilization" as used by Herder, Humboldt, Guizot, E. du Bois-Reymond, Wundt, Ferguson, Morgan, Tylor, Buckle, Gothein, etc., see the following works: Paul Barth, *Die Philosophie der Geschichte als Soziologie* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1922), 597-613; H. S. Stoltenberg, "Seele, Geist und Gruppe," *Schmollers Jahrbuch*, LV (1929), 105 ff; R. Eucken, *Geschichte und Kritik der Grundbegriffe der Gegenwart* (Leipzig, 1878), 187ff.

<sup>13</sup> His distinction between means and end is thus different from that used in our ensuing discussion. MacIver is referring, to use Pareto's terminology, to "subjective ends" while we are dealing with "objective ends." The difference is thus one between the point of view of the actor and that of the observer.

garded by another group of scientists as purely instrumental, in which case it would be a civilizational activity. Obviously, a set of categories as flexible as this is inadequate, for social products tend to have the same social significance whatever the motivation of those responsible for them.

Weber avoids this difficulty. Civilization is simply a body of practical and intellectual knowledge and a collection of technical means for controlling nature. Culture comprises configurations of values, of normative principles and ideals, which are historically unique, that is, which are characterized by the particular "coloration" of each historical society.<sup>14</sup> Both of these concepts are analytical abstractions, referring to elements in the concrete whole.

Both these authors agree in ascribing a series of sociologically relevant attributes to civilization and culture. The civilizational aspects tend to be more accumulative, more readily diffused, more susceptible of agreement in evaluation and more continuous in development than the cultural aspect. (This, of course, on the abstract and not the concrete level.) Further, both writers properly recognize that these concepts are simply tools of analysis so that any concrete phenomenon may possess both aspects. Again, both avoid a narrow determinism and indicate that substantial interaction occurs between the two realms.

This last point is especially significant. For insofar as he ignores the full significance of the *concrete* effects of such interdependence, Weber virtually reverts to a theory of progress. The fact which must be borne in mind is that accumulation is but an *abstractly* immanent characteristic of civilization. Hence, concrete movements which always involve interaction with other spheres need not embody

<sup>14</sup> As will be readily recognized, this conception is much like that of Durkheim's "social types," save that this avoids the dilemma of the historical relativism of knowledge.

such a development. The *rate* of accumulation is influenced by social and cultural elements so that in societies where cultural values are inimical to the cultivation of civilization, the rate of development may be negligible. Other concrete ("historically accidental") factors of a catastrophic nature may of course destroy accumulated civilization. Qualifications of this sort, however, simply mean that the rate of civilizational development is concretely not an independent variable. The possible influence of civilization upon culture has been too often discussed to demand more than mention.

The basis for the accumulative nature of civilization is readily apparent. Once given a cultural animus which positively evaluates civilizational activity, accumulation is inevitable. This tendency is rooted deep in the very nature of civilization as contrasted with culture. It is a peculiarity of civilizational activities that a set of operations can be so specifically defined that the criteria of the attainment of the various ends are clearly evident. Moreover, and this is a further consideration which Weber overlooks entirely, the "ends" which civilization serves are *empirically* attainable.<sup>15</sup> That is to say, the "means are appropriate for the end" in the sense in which this is described by Pareto. "Means" for an end, the attainment of which can not be tested empirically (*e.g.*, eternal salvation), are not in the sphere of civilization since their efficacy is supposed, not "demonstrated." It is for this reason that "techniques" for the achievement of nebulous and ill-defined ends (*e.g.*, social justice, good of the greatest number) are not civilizational in character. The means are measured by normative rather than technical criteria.

Thus civilization is "impersonal" and "objective." A scientific law can be verified by determining whether the

<sup>15</sup> This fundamental point is implied by MacIver but is not discussed by him within the same context.

specified relations uniformly exist. The same operations will occasion the same results, no matter who performs them. For example, when a certain substance, silver, is placed in a liquid, nitric acid, it dissolves, irrespective of the person performing the operation.

Culture, on the other hand, is thoroughly personal and subjective, simply because no fixed and clearly defined set of operations is available for determining the desired result. Moreover, no matter how thoroughly the technical modes of expression—the civilizational aspect—of culture are defined, the specific cultural product will not inevitably follow. Thus, a profound study of the “techniques” of Shakespeare or of Rembrandt will not enable a modern litterateur or painter to duplicate the work of these masters. But any repetition of the operations defined by Newton in his *Principia* will enable the modern scientist to attain the same results, upon which he can build further developments. It is this basic difference between the two fields which accounts for the cumulative nature of civilization and the unique (noncumulative) character of culture.

Moreover, it is this same fundamental difference which is responsible for independent multiple inventions and discoveries in the field of civilization; a phenomenon which is largely, if not completely, lacking in culture. The more precisely defined the empirical end, the greater the limitation of means which can be successfully oriented toward the attainment of the end. Hence, in the sphere of civilization, where the end is empirically attainable, independent duplicate invention is more apt to occur. The number of intrinsic relations of means and empirical end is severely limited; the number of symbolic relations is infinite. Convergence in civilization is thus enforced by the explicitness and empirical character of the end and the necessity of finding intrinsically related means.

Though this brief discussion purports to be little more than the veriest introduction to these concepts, it is hoped that their analytical value has been indicated. Its full usefulness can only be determined, of course, by its demonstrated applicability to a series of empirical investigations.

## DAVID HUME AND SCIENTIFIC SKEPTICISM

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SCIENTIFIC thinkers are frequently unconscious of the extent to which their thought is rooted in social tradition. This is particularly true of the more scientifically orthodox social thinkers; for they believe as a rule that the application of scientific method to social problems is something very recent, and sometimes even that the creation of scientific method took place but yesterday. It is always profitable, therefore, to trace the history of present attitudes among social scientists, and particularly of the more extreme attitudes. Individuals are always the initiators of historical movements, and hence the intellectual history of their founders is always enlightening.

The man who perhaps best deserves to be called the founder of orthodox scientific method, or rather perhaps the first philosopher to defend the same, is the great English skeptic, David Hume. He was born in 1711 in a prominent Scottish family and died in 1776. He was educated in the Scottish universities where he came into contact with the sensationalism of Locke and other philosophers. Both physical science and psychological theories had been developing very rapidly in the two preceding centuries. Hume had an exceptionally keen, critical mind, and so he brought his wits to bear upon the problems resulting from these new scientific theories, particularly upon the problem of how far scientific knowledge could go. This statement indicates that Hume was chiefly interested in epistemology, or the problem of knowledge, and therefore his contribution to the social sciences has often been overlooked.

Let us note a few of the sources of his ideas. As a young man he spent three years in France, where he came into contact with the ideas of many of the most advanced French thinkers and where he wrote his *Treatise of Human Nature*, which was not published, however, until 1740. This was followed by *Essays Moral and Political* in 1742. In 1752 he published his *Political Discourses*. Relatively late in life he became interested in history as a source of political and social knowledge and wrote his well-known *History of England*. He spent six years from 1763 to 1769 at Paris as an attaché of the British Embassy, where he again came into close contact with the leading French thinkers, especially the encyclopedists. After this he retired to Edinburgh where he died in 1776.

Like Voltaire, Hume was essentially a child of his age. There were many differences between these two great men, but both of them went with rather than against the current of their time, in practically all respects. One writer says

It was an age in which reason came more and more to renounce, or rather flatly deny, its creative role; more and more to resign itself to the humbler tasks of registering and analyzing the material given through the senses from without: an age of materialism, first veiled, then exultant, as regards the sources and scope of man's knowledge.

In these respects, the reader will hardly fail to note, the eighteenth century was strikingly similar to the opening decades of the twentieth century. Such a social atmosphere could hardly fail to influence as sensitive a mind as that of David Hume. Indeed, he became the very voice of his age, and to a certain extent still rules the more scientific part of the world.

Such a thinker who voices the tendencies of his age is apt to be relatively superficial, and this can perhaps be said, without any unfairness, of David Hume. He was, indeed, aware of this superficiality himself, and often re-

marked that his various conclusions seemed mutually inconsistent; and he would add, very genially, that if any one else could think out the problem better than he could, he would be glad to accept his conclusion.

Hume was essentially a metaphysician. He accepted and developed Locke's sensationalist psychology. Sense impressions, he held, were the source of all ideas and also the test of their validity. The mind of man could be resolved into such sense impressions received from the external world, combined and recombined. There is, therefore, no such entity as "mind," which can be perceived or made the object of scientific investigation. We know of no "soul" behind the processes of thought. Likewise, we can never penetrate behind sense impressions to discover the essence of nature, or the processes of nature. Hence we never perceive "causes" or "laws." We infer them; and as they are matters of inference, they may be doubted. Hence, Hume argued that science must limit itself strictly to mathematics and to direct experiment. *It is in this sense that he set up scientific orthodoxy.* Inconsistently, however, he argued that politics may be reduced to a science based on experience, and he held the same view regarding human nature. He has often been accused of holding to an egoistic and intellectualistic theory of human nature; but this is hardly correct, as his fundamental principle in interpreting all human behavior was the principle of habit. This perhaps was consistent with his deriving all that was in the mind from sense impressions received from the environment.

We should add that, while Hume was a keen, critical thinker, his critical attitude did not extend to such institutions as property and the British monarchy. When it came to political and social questions, he was essentially conservative. But his social and political conservatism hardly fitted in with his philosophical and religious radicalism.

While skeptical regarding all religious and philosophical beliefs, his skepticism, for the most part, did not extend to the social order around him.

While Hume attacked many of the social theories of his day, he was not altogether negative in his social philosophy. He often indicated constructive views which have been largely adopted since his day. Hume doubted the easy geographical determinism advocated by Montesquieu. The characters of men, he says, do not come from air and climate, and physical causes have little to do in the making of national character which is due almost wholly to moral causes. He throws most weight upon the social tradition and the imitative nature of the human mind. Moreover, it is wrong to ascribe too much in the social order to reason. Passions and sentiments, he says, rule mankind. But practically he gives even greater weight to habit. Custom is the great guide of human life; and so all human institutions and social conditions should be interpreted in terms of habit and custom.

With this point of view he naturally attacked the theory of an original contract at the base of the social and political order. This theory, which was scarcely questioned in the early eighteenth century, Hume rejects upon both historical and psychological grounds. He says that it is historically not true that the powers of government were derived from some original contract. Rather the powers of government have come historically from force and violence and custom. The consent of the governed was not their original source. Neither does the theory of an original contract have a good foundation in psychology. The sense of social obligation arises from the necessities of human society. Fidelity, or regard for promises, is such a social necessity. Obedience to magistrates and fidelity in promises rest on the same foundation—the interests and necessities of organ-

ized human society. Civilized society, he says, could not subsist without obedience to government. While government originated in force and violence, it has been continued as a social necessity and is established by custom. There is, therefore, no need of assuming any contract between ruler and subject. Social necessity is the basis also of justice. Justice is absolutely necessary for the well-being of mankind and so for the existence of human society. The same is true of most other virtues. These are not modifications of self-love, but represent perceptions of social utility.

A measure of liberty, Hume holds, is necessary to maintain a free government. Reasonable liberty of the people is not dangerous, especially not the liberty of the press. Parties are necessary in a free government and are rarely dangerous if given opportunity to express themselves. Hume is altogether in favor of a parliamentary government, such as he believes to be illustrated best in the constitution of Great Britain. This will secure a government of laws with a minimum of tyranny.

While Hume is doubtful regarding the validity of religious beliefs, he sees the utility of religion in society. He says that religions are of two sorts—religions of superstition, and religions of enthusiasm. Religions of superstition are unfavorable to progress because they lodge power in a priestly class. Superstition is an enemy of civil liberty, therefore. Religions of enthusiasm, or, as we would say, prophetic religions, are more favorable to progress, even though they are apt to be more violent. A religion of enthusiasm is therefore a friend of civil liberty.

Hume was a strong advocate of what we would call the theory of relativity in morals. Good and ill, both natural and moral, he held are entirely relative to human sentiments. The virtues depend upon social conditions and are really expressions of social and public utility. Nevertheless,

society must have its conventions and customs. These may change from age to age. But as they express social interests and necessities they have a certain relative validity.

It has been said that Hume was the embodiment of the Humanism of the eighteenth century. He was certainly the embodiment of its spirit of doubt and its sense of relativity. In many ways his skepticism did good. To Hume perhaps more than to any other thinker we owe the undermining of the contract theory of the state and society. His withering skepticism left it with scarcely any vitality outside of those revolutionary parties who used it more as a weapon than as an established truth. Yet Hume's skepticism, we are beginning to see, went much too far. If it had only undermined social theories unsupported by facts, it would have been all for the good. But it extended as we have seen to the human mind itself; and in undermining faith in the human mind it undermined faith in science itself.

Hume has been often likened to Voltaire, and indeed called "the Voltaire of Great Britain." But while there were similarities between the two men, they were at bottom very different. For Voltaire retained his faith in man, in the mind of man, and even in the perfectibility of man. These were faiths which David Hume never had, and we might almost say, of which he knew nothing.

## A METHOD OF RECORDING TRENDS IN URBAN RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

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MAN's moving about, changing his occupational activities, his position in the economic stratification, his various groupings, the variety of his contacts and his residence have been receiving a great deal of attention under the terms social circulation, vertical and horizontal mobility. Mobility, in sociological terminology, includes movement in spatial position and movement in social position. The Chicago sociologists had early emphasized the effects of territorial movement on social structure and individual attitudes, while Professor Sorokin has recently stimulated some interest in studies of class and group circulation, the "metabolism" of the structure.

Movement in space, moreover, is to be considered social mobility only when accompanied by social contacts which stimulate change in the social processes. The territorial movements of pastoral nomads, for example, were not necessarily accompanied by social changes.<sup>1</sup> Spatial movements under modern conditions usually are accompanied by changes of sociological significance although it is possible that the amount and variety of these results have been overestimated. Certainly the illustrative methods most frequently used as a basis for our generalizations are not, of themselves, convincing. I agree with Professor Becker's assertion that

most, if not all of the current theorizing about "territorial mobility," "horizontal mobility" and similar topics has not been based upon methods that can lead to valid conclusions, for up to date no culture

<sup>1</sup> H. Becker, "Pastoral Nomadism and Social Change," *Sociology and Social Research*, 15:417-27.

case studies bearing upon the specifically sociological aspects of the problem have been made. What has sometimes been done has been to select illustrations, numerical, literary and otherwise, and with the aid and comfort to a priori dogmas thus derived, to write about the sociological correlates of population movement in all times, places, and cultures with more assurance than the unselected evidence would warrant.<sup>2</sup>

A random sampling<sup>3</sup> of current literature provides such statements as:

"In contrast to the regions of isolation there are areas of movement and change. Persons and their groups interact with each other on a scale heretofore unknown in human history."

"The less mobility of country life makes the farmer-peasant more amenable to the mores and religious beliefs of the community concerning the necessity for the sanctity of marriage."

"The mobility of city life, with its trend toward atomization of the individual has broken down the control of the community."

"It is the exaggerated physical mobility of the city which has made possible its vice districts and its bright light areas. In these areas of high physical mobility public opinion has ceased to exist."

"In the world of furnished rooms, an exaggerated physical mobility leads practically to an atomization of social relationships."

"It would seem that our machine culture is destroying that settler spirit, loosening the loyalties to locality and returning our population to the nomadic huntsman type."

"The conditions of greater mobility and heterogeneity facilitate urban development of religious syncretism, criticism, relativity, skepticism, sophistication and weakness of beliefs. The greater homogeneity and immobility of rural environment facilitates comparatively greater firmness, rigidity, powerful convictions and the 'naive' character of the religious beliefs."

"When the strains of movement and overstimulation bring about change faster than the organism or the group can adapt itself, demoralization follows."

<sup>2</sup> H. Becker, "Forms of Population Movement," *Social Forces*, 9:147.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Dawson and W. E. Gettys, *Introduction to Sociology*, p. 297; P. Sorokin and C. C. Zimmerman, *Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology*, p. 230; E. R. Mowrer, *Family Disorganization*, p. 228; H. W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, pp. 249, 248; R. W. Sockman, *Morals of Tomorrow*, p. 56; Sorokin and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 441; N. Anderson and E. C. Lindeman, *Urban Sociology*, p. 150.

To residential mobility there have also been ascribed lowered birth rates, disintegration of the family group, delinquency, "selfishness" as a personality trait, increased desertion and divorce rates, suicide, sexual irregularities, and many other evidences of disorganization.

Many of these generalizations are no doubt descriptive of essential effects of movement on certain groups, others are descriptive of results on some individuals and not on others, some may be true at certain periods in the migratory history of some groups and not at other times. In moving from one type of area in one city to a similar type in another, the family of a transient industrial worker might undergo few or no changes of sociological significance after the first move or two. The migrations of the dweller in furnished rooms may add little to his experience or the variety of stimulations to which he responds after the first few moves. Accretions to the group, family, or individual's record of residential mobility do not necessarily result in significant change. The quality of the output of sociological generalizations on mobility might be improved if increased consideration were given to: (1) the differential effects of movement on various types of groups and individuals; (2) the limited factual data as to the existing amount of spatial movement, especially intra-urban movement; (3) the need of a terminology adequate to characterize a variety of types of movement in spatial, psychological and cultural categories; (4) the integrating, as well as disorganizing, effects of mobility under some conditions. Regarding temporary transiency, Professor Cooley wisely remarked that

automobile travel tends to domesticate the whole country in every man's mind; his patriotism is enlarged without becoming less concrete. I cannot agree that it is making us an unstable, because nomadic people. Is it not rather a flying shuttle that weaves the strands

of our life into a broad and flexible fabric? It is not fixity that makes people stable, but possessions, hopes, contentment.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, rather than confusing and demoralizing the individual or group, residential mobility may be an integrating factor. The removal, at times, of newlyweds from the geographical vicinity of relatives, of conflict groups or sects from an area where their status is fixed at a low level, of some types of psychological or behavior variants from their neighborhoods and groups, is undoubtedly beneficial. Therefore, generalizations on the effects of residential mobility should be presented very tentatively indeed.

Not only is there a lack of detailed studies attempting to relate, by more than merely an illustrative method, the effects of residential mobility upon special groups and classes, but there are very few published studies of residential mobility within cities, counties, and small areas. And such records are necessary for the selection of areas and groups for other types of study. During the past ten years records for certain areas and some groups have been obtained by studies of voters' registration lists, church membership rolls, real estate rental agencies, transfer companies, newspaper circulation records, the subscribers of public utilities, credit bureaus, and house to house surveys of areas.<sup>5</sup> Two years ago, I reported on a study of residential mobility in four Illinois cities of thirty to forty thousand population, using directory comparisons as a source of information.<sup>6</sup> There are obvious limitations to a record from this source. It is not complete. It does not show the moves made during the course of the year between the visits of the directory record takers. However, I found it more ade-

<sup>4</sup> C. H. Cooley, *Life and the Student*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> For summary, see forthcoming article in this Journal on "A Comparison of Methods of Recording Urban Residential Mobility."

<sup>6</sup> William Albig, "The Mobility of Urban Population," *Social Forces*, 11:351-67.

quate than any other source for recording residential mobility for entire cities, for the comparison of cities, for a comparison of areas within these cities, for the composition of the mobile population, and a source of information as to the addresses of those changing residence within the city.

At the time, I suggested that the directories might also be used to develop a time series of the amounts of residential mobility for particular areas smaller than the census districts then used, and of radial streets, as most of the directories, even in the earlier years, had a street directory included, listing street numbers and residents' names by streets. Recently I have worked out such a series for a single radial street in the city of Danville (one of the four cities of the earlier study) for the period 1903 to 1933. Main Street is one of the principal streets of Danville, running east and west through the center square of this city of about 37,000 population.<sup>7</sup>

For the thirty-year period, with the exception of several years during which directories were not published, the occupants of all addresses on both sides of Main Street were compared to those listed for the preceding year. In the case of changes of residence the total number of people involved in each change was obtained from the directory material which lists separately the adults over eighteen years of age at an address and gives the number of children under eighteen. The percentages of the total number of occupants who had moved during the year were then found by five-block units from the east to the west of the city. The numbers of addresses and the percentages of changed addresses for a single year (1931-1932) are presented in Table I to show the number of addresses involved in the five-block units from east to west.

The percentages of residential mobility per year for the thirty-year period appears in Table II.

<sup>7</sup> See map in *Social Forces*, 11:352.

TABLE I

NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF CHANGED ADDRESSES DURING  
ONE YEAR (1931-1932) ON A RADIAL CITY STREET

<i>Street Numbers</i>	<i>Number of Addresses During Year</i>	<i>Number of Addresses Changed During Year</i>	<i>Percentages of Addresses Changed During Year</i>
East			
0-500	208	66	31
500-1000	155	40	25
1000-1500	83	20	24
1500-2000	62	15	24
2000-2500	46	14	30
2500-3000	44	11	25
West			
0-5000	139	36	26

The percentages of mobility decrease rather steadily for all sections of this radial street during the entire period. At the same time, the population growth of Danville has been steady but at a declining rate since before the period included in this study. The census shows the growth of Danville's population as:

1880 —	7,733
1890 —	11,491
1900 —	16,354
1910 —	27,871
1920 —	33,776
1930 —	36,765

This decline in the rate of increase is, however, much less than the decline of the percentages of residential mobility for the sections of the radial street studied.

It would appear then, within the limits of this sample, that we may generalize from Table II, that:

(1) Residential mobility has decreased rather steadily on this main street for thirty years.

(2) The amount of decrease in mobility is greater in the areas toward the outer edges of the city.

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGES OF RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY PER YEAR (1903-1932)  
ON A RADIAL CITY STREET

	1903	1906	1909	1910	1910	1911	1914	1914	1915	1918	1918	1919	1922	1922	1923	1923	1924	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
East																							
0-																							
500	52	43	53	68	42	46	45	42	40	39	43	34	36	33	31	25	31						
500-																							
1000	46	46	46	41	43	37	53	39	23	38	41	33	34	35	34	36	25						
1000-																							
1500	65	42	25	33	43	38	30	32	37	33	34	37	30	34	28	27	24						
1500-																							
2000	91	96	45	46	38	39	45	39	33	36	51	33	25	36	29	32	24						
2000-																							
2500	100	73	64	66	73	70	35	46	20	42	51	40	45	45	34	37	30						
2500-																							
3000	100	57	63	33	45	68	41	34	24	32	42	25	18	35	16	20	25						
West																							
0-																							
500	57	44	69	62	42	42	47	53	28	40	37	8	28	23	15	24	26						

(3) The percentages of mobility at the outer edges of the city are now no greater than in the downtown areas. This is probably due to these outer sections of this street having been settled at just about the period covered by the first few years of this study. Many houses there are occupied by what are now "old residents" with a high degree of stability.

(4) The area just outside the business district does not show a higher percentage of mobility than the downtown blocks. It has rather consistently a slightly lower mobility throughout the thirty-year period.

Thus the neat, ideal pattern of zones posited for the metropolitan areas does not appear in this small city.

The use of old directories for different time periods offers the opportunity for study of the relation between residential mobility and the growth of the city and the development of special areas in the city. Not only may particular streets be recorded from this source, but blocks, zones, areas of any size or shape may be used. Quantitative records of various kinds of spatial mobility are not, in themselves, sociologically significant. The resultant community patternings, social processes, and individual attitudes are the sociological data. But methods for recording the facts of movement must be developed as a preliminary stage.

## RACIAL DISTANCE AS AFFECTED BY EDUCATION

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DOES the college student, as he thinks about "different" peoples in terms of social distance, make any allowance for their educational attainments?

In a recent study, a classroom experiment with 238 students of sociology at the University of North Carolina, an attempt was made to answer this question. Of this total, 182 students gave special thought through reading and class discussion to problems of race in their regular course of study. The other 56, mostly first-course students, did not focus upon race problems as such, and for this reason may be looked upon as a quasi-control group.

An outline picture of these 238 students is as follows:

Average age: 20.5 years                      Sex ratio: 4 men to 1 woman

### Ancestry:

English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh combinations.....	60 per cent
Dutch, French, Germanic,	
Scandinavian combinations .....	24 per cent
Jewish .....	10 per cent
Miscellaneous .....	6 per cent

### Residential background:

Southern urban .....	44 per cent
Southern rural .....	34 per cent
Northern urban .....	16 per cent
Northern rural .....	2 per cent
Other .....	4 per cent

On a mimeographed sheet with lists and spaces in columnar form, twelve ethnic types were presented in the following order: Greek, American Indian, English, Mexi-

can, French, Turk, Japanese, German, Chinese, Negro, Polynesian, Italian. The students were given printed as well as oral instructions to think of these peoples in terms of (1) college education or its equivalent and (2) poor or ordinary education, meaning sixth-grade level or less. A slightly modified arrangement of Professor E. S. Bogardus' original measuring scale was employed. Six headings and columns were provided for (1) and (2) to make possible the checking of contact (social distance) possibilities against each of the twelve peoples: close kinship or intermarriage, 6.00; club membership or fraternization, 5.00; neighborhood contacts, 4.00; employment tolerance, 3.00; citizenship only, 2.00; visit country only, 1.00. Decimal results may thus be derived.

The general instructions read as follows: "In considering the degree of intimacy I would permit, as I honestly feel now, I am placing a cross (x) under the number which indicates the closest contact I would willingly allow for each race." Brief oral instructions were given in the classroom but only to clarify the mechanics of the procedure. "Close kinship" was intended to mean intermarriage and was so explained; it being quite possible, of course, for a student to be willing for his sister to marry whom she pleased but as for himself, he would make his own choice. However, in this particular, since oral amendment was given, it is not likely that the omission from the schedule of the words "by intermarriage" affects the results.

All the completed schedules were handed in unsigned. Code letters were used to preserve anonymity and to make possible the pairing of the earlier with the later ratings. Eight ratings in all were completed, four by 182 students and four by 56 students. Early in the college term ratings were obtained from the students for the well-educated and

for the poorly educated of each race. Then six to ten weeks later another appraisal was turned in on identical schedule forms. This later evaluation was approached *de novo*, the participants not knowing when they completed their first ratings that they would be called upon again. Though the total number of students is small, the results of the test and retest data seem statistically significant. The ranking of the twelve peoples is essentially alike in all eight ratings. Undifferentiated as to education, the arithmetic averages given by the 238 students are as follows:

English	5.58	Mexican	3.24
German	5.11	Japanese	3.14
French	5.07	Chinese	2.86
American		Negro	2.84
Indian	3.68	Turk	2.79
Italian	3.63	Polynesian	2.66
Greek	3.48		

This ranking is practically identical with earlier results obtained by Professor Bogardus with a longer list of peoples. (Since he used an "exclusion from the country" column, it will be necessary to add one entire step (1.00) to his figures to bring them into adjustment with the present study.)

The primary question of the study is this: Will the student indicate a preferential relationship for the well-educated though ethnically different person? As shown in the next listing, *on paper* the student admits such favored members nearer by three fourths of a step (0.77) than he admits those who are poorly educated. The range of this increased tolerance extends from the Negro whose higher educational status advances him one-half step (0.45) to the Italian who gains an entire step (1.06). For the entire group the following list delineates the picture:

<i>Peoples differentiated according to educational attainment</i>	<i>Peoples with poor or ordinary education</i>	<i>Peoples with good or college education</i>	<i>Degree of preference for the well-educated</i>
English	5.24	5.93	.69
German	4.60	5.56	.96
French	4.63	5.51	.88
American Indian	3.31	4.07	.76
Italian	3.06	4.12	1.06
Greek	3.03	3.88	.85
Mexican	2.75	3.58	.83
Japanese	2.72	3.55	.83
Chinese	2.51	3.21	.70
Negro	2.57	3.02	.45
Turk	2.42	3.09	.67
Polynesian	2.34	2.88	.54

Average .77

(This listing represents eight ratings by 238 students; four ratings by 182, and four by 56 students)

It is not surprising, of course, that the Negro ranks lowest in the amount of favor which his superior education gains for him. Seventy-eight per cent of the students have Southern upbringing, some of them coming from communities where ignorant, obsequious blacks are to be preferred to "uppity" educated Negroes. Also a victim of verbalized, traditional stereotype, the Turk is apparently still considered "terrible." It is doubtful if many of these students have ever had any contact with a Turk. The figures for the Polynesian bear out the theory that the "stranger," the unknown, must be kept at a distance, that one must play safe. The study had progressed well toward completion before it was discovered that "Polynesian" meant nothing definite to considerable numbers of students. (Now that they have seen *Mutiny on the Bounty*, the result might be different!) From that point on, the students were given brief oral descriptions of these brown people.

The secondary question implied in the study is this: Do later ratings indicate any change as compared with ratings

given two months earlier? The basic figures, which space forbids printing in detail, indicate that the second appraisal is more liberal than the earlier one. This is especially true of the 182 students who had given considerable thought to race problems. As a result of study, discussion, or some other factor or combination of factors, less social distance appears toward the twelve peoples at the end of the college term than was recorded at the beginning. The total average shift toward greater intimacy for peoples of poor or ordinary education is 0.36; for the well-educated, 0.33, or an average of about one third of a step. For these 182 students the lessening of social distance between the first rating and the second rating two months later can best be shown in the next listing in which every decimal represents a positive movement toward greater tolerance at the end of the college term than at the beginning.

<i>Peoples</i>	<i>Of Poor Education</i>	<i>Of Good Education</i>
English .....	.24	.01
German .....	.46	.23
French .....	.47	.22
American Indian .....	.29	.31
Italian .....	.54	.52
Greek .....	.40	.39
Mexican .....	.26	.14
Japanese .....	.29	.54
Chinese .....	.45	.39
Negro .....	.21	.47
Turk .....	.28	.38
Polynesian .....	.38	.40
Average	.36	.33

Does the above indicate the possibility of effective study having been achieved on the part of these 182 students in the realm of race problems? For the 56 students, a similar positive shift is discernible but it is less than for the larger group.

This study, like others revealing a strong pro-Nordic preference, shows that certain peoples differing markedly

from us in color or culture or both are not yet considered eligible for social intimacy. Yet when the foreigner or "different" person possesses a superior education, the students' feeling of separateness toward him tends to diminish. The inferences to be drawn from this in terms of ultimates may be several.

However, no proof is available that the problem of attitudes, opinions, and prejudices is becoming any less complex or that in actual life it is yielding greatly to the higher educative processes so vitalized these days by research and discussion. Opinion and prejudice, most often rooted in family experience, are not easily changed. Nor is it easy for people narrowly trained, to learn to measure people by their individual worth rather than by the symbol which has been attached to them. No warrant can be found in this study for the assumption that evaluations and prejudices are lifted very far by educational considerations, however much they may be loosened for later dislodgment. Appraisals of other human beings, especially those who are different, tend to remain embedded in the emotional matrix into which they have been pressed by stereotype and symbol, by tradition, and by that essence of all negative emotions, fear.

## A COMPARISON OF OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

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### INTRODUCTION

UPON one fact economists and sociologists are agreed, to wit: a great mass of material has been published on "the labor problem." Upon another fact sociologists are agreed—that most of these materials give "no clue as to the cause-and-effect relationship involved in them, and no suggestion as to their setting in an ordered account of the social process." The authors of this study harbor no presumption for direct clues, but do believe that among the confusion of satisfactions and dissatisfactions involved, occupational attitudes play an important role. What sizeable groups think about an occupation largely determines its status, and the importance which is attached to it has much to do with the unrest or the satisfaction of those within the occupation.

Most of the studies available in social-industrial relationships are presented, as every student in that field is aware, from the point of view of pure economics or of vocational guidance. Ten years ago an observation was made that

The teaching of labour problems in the average American university suffers from three defects: first, its virtual monopolization by the economists; second, its over-empiricism; and third, its inclusiveness. All three are due chiefly to the exigencies attending the development of courses in labour problems in this country, and are, therefore, mutually related.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Niles Carpenter, "A Sociological Approach to the Study of Problems of Labor and Wage Relations," *Social Forces*, 4:820-24, June, 1926.

Since then many valuable articles written from a sociological angle have appeared. One of the best of these was published in *Social Forces*, entitled "The Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men," by W. A. Anderson.<sup>2</sup> The method employed by Mr. Anderson is a familiar one for purposes of analyzing and ranking attitudes. Twenty-four occupations were selected, and several hundred students in the North Carolina State College ranked them on the basis of their importance to society.

This investigation is a similar, but enlarged study for a different region, eastern Texas. For purposes of comparison, three heterogeneous groups were selected for investigation. These were: employed men and women in five northeast Texas towns, CCC workers in several camps, and students in the East Texas State Teachers College.

The U. S. Census Report (1930) was used to select thirty of the occupations most common to this section (with the exceptions of poet, musician, and man of leisure). The occupations and instructions as they appeared on the mimeographed sheets distributed were as follows:

The complete dependability of the rankings as an index is open to some of the objections mentioned by Mapheus Smith in a recent paper in *Sociology and Social Research*, but as he has acknowledged, people "do have somewhat stereotyped notions about the characteristics of the typical person engaged in each occupation."<sup>3</sup> He further states:

By means of a ranking or rating technique, the distinction between any two vocations can be objectified, the final numerical value attached to any item being based on the consensus of enough

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Anderson, "The Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men," *Social Forces*, 6:278-83, 1927.

<sup>3</sup> Mapheus Smith, "Proposals for Making a Scale of Status of Occupations," *Sociology and Social Research*, 20:40-49, September-October, 1935.

## PERSONAL INFORMATION

Your name.....Age.....Sex.....  
 What grade did you finish in school?.....  
 If you have attended college, what is your classification?.....  
 Major subject in college?.....Have you chosen a life work?.....  
 If so, what?.....Your father's occupation?.....

## INSTRUCTIONS

In the following list are thirty occupations which you are to rank. After that occupation which you consider to have the highest social rating, on the basis of general usefulness or contribution to society, place the number "1"; after that which you think should occupy second place, the number "2"; continuing until you finally place "30" after that occupation which ranks lowest.

	<i>Ranking</i>
Banker (officer or official in bank)	.....
Barber (works in barber shop)	.....
Baseball player (professional)	.....
Book-keeper (works in store or office)	.....
Carpenter (skilled wood-worker)	.....
Clerk (salesman in retail store)	.....
Ditch digger (any day-laborer)	.....
Engineer (civil, electrical, or mechanical)	.....
Farmer (producer of farm products)	.....
Filling station worker (gasoline, oil, etc.)	.....
Household servant (cook, maid, yard-boy, etc.)	.....
Insurance agent (sells insurance)	.....
Janitor (cares for buildings and grounds)	.....
Lawyer (practices law in court)	.....
Man of leisure (inherited fortune)	.....
Manufacturer (owner of a factory)	.....
Mechanic (automobile, etc.)	.....
Merchant (owns a store)	.....
Musician (plays for a living)	.....
Physician (practices medicine)	.....
Policeman (law enforcement officer)	.....
Poet (writes poetry for a living)	.....
Preacher (clergyman, pastor, or priest)	.....
Professor (teaches in a college or university)	.....
Salesman (traveler for a wholesale house)	.....
School teacher (teaches in grade schools)	.....
Soldier (in the United States Army)	.....
Stenographer (typist or secretary in office)	.....
Trained nurse (registered nurse)	.....
Truck driver (drives commercial vehicle)	.....

individual judgments so that additional judgments would not change the value.

In this investigation, 648 blanks were distributed. Of these, 248 were filled out by students of the East State Teachers College in Commerce. The 248 students were chosen at random from English and social science classes. Boys and men in several CCC camps in the east Texas division returned 138 questionnaires. Laborers, business and professional men and women in five northeast Texas towns ranging in population from 1,905 to 15,649 made 164 rankings.

Most of the rankings in this study were done carefully, if not wisely. Freakish or "wild" reactions often showed a slant or consistency of attitudes. Facetious rankings were found, of course, but the majority returned represented a definite set of responses.

#### I. THE COLLEGE GROUP

The college group includes 248 of the 1,200 students in E. T. S. T. C. during the spring semester of 1935. It comprises both men and women, with a slightly higher percentage of the latter (52.2% of total number). Distribution according to classes is: freshman, 64; sophomore, 65; junior, 56; and senior, 63. The average age for the entire group was 22.17 years.

As might be expected, the percentage of those who had selected a life work rose from year to year in college. For the respective classes, it was: freshman, 51 per cent; sophomores, 57 per cent; juniors, 75 per cent; seniors, 81 per cent. Forty-six different occupations are represented by the parents, ranging from manual labor through the professions. A classification of 213 students (35 did not give this information) according to the occupations of their fathers reveals the following:

TABLE I

<i>Vocations</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent of Total</i>
Agriculture	111	52.2
Business	39	18.3
Government positions	10	4.6
Professions	19	8.4
Skilled labor	24	11.2
Unskilled labor	7	3.2
Unemployed	3	1.4
	213	100.00

Thus it is seen that farming contributed the largest percentage. The other occupations are relatively scattered. This may be attributed to the fact that the teachers colleges of Texas (as in most other states) draw their students from small towns or the country.<sup>4</sup>

It was rather difficult for those who filled out the questionnaires to give quantitative expression for qualitative data. Nonetheless, the only measureable expression of these attitudes had to be quantitative. The rankings on the questionnaires were tabulated into frequency tables by classes, and the median ranking for every occupation was computed. The median ranking was taken as the group attitude toward each occupation, and the medians for the entire group of 248 were determined. (The same method was employed for the business and CCC groups, except that there were no subdivisions within the main groups.)

<sup>4</sup> With reference to the vocational choices of the students, it will no doubt be of interest to educators to note that of the eighteen freshmen who had already selected teaching as a life vocation, all were the children of farmers; of the twenty-seven sophomores, twenty-four were; of the thirty-two juniors, twenty-two; and of the forty-two seniors, thirty-five. It appears that pedagogy looks more inviting to farmers' sons and daughters than it does to those of other vocational groups!

Of the total number who had chosen a vocation, only seven selected that of the father—the vocations being medicine, teaching, dentistry, and engineering. The majority in a teachers college quite naturally expressed a preference for teaching. No farmers' children indicated an expectation to take up farming as a life work. The six most prominently mentioned vocational choices other than teaching, in the order of their frequency, were law, medicine, engineering, salesmanship, and dentistry. These choices are not necessarily indicative, however, of the occupations into which the students will actually go.

Table II gives the attitudes of the 248 students as revealed in the numerical ranking by classes of thirty occupations. A reading shows that the attitudes are in close correlation, with but slight differences in the median and

TABLE II  
NUMERICAL RANKING OF THIRTY OCCUPATIONS BY  
248 COLLEGE STUDENTS BY CLASS YEARS

<i>Occupations</i>	<i>Freshman (64)</i>	<i>Sophomore (65)</i>	<i>Junior (56)</i>	<i>Senior (63)</i>	<i>Total Group (248)</i>	<i>Medians for Total Group</i>
Physician	1	1	1	1	1	2.37
Preacher	2	2	3	2	2	3.57
School teacher	4	4	2	3	3	4.60
Professor	3	3	5	4	4	5.35
Farmer	7	9	4	5	5	7.14
Lawyer	5	7	9	6	6	8.59
Banker	8	5	8	8	7	8.61
Trained nurse	9	6	6	10	8	9.14
Manufacturer	10	8	7	7	9	9.20
Engineer	6	10	10	9	10	9.59
Policeman	11	11	12	11	11	11.73
Merchant	12	12	11	12	12	12.78
Carpenter	14	14	13	13	13	15.70
Musician	13	13	18	17	14	16.57
Bookkeeper	15	15	16	15	15	17.00
Mechanic	18	18	14	17	16	18.00
Stenographer	19	19	17	14	17	18.09
Clerk	21	17	19	16	18	18.78
Soldier	22	16	15	23	19	19.33
Poet	16	22	21	20	20	19.57
Insurance agent	17	21	20	21	21	19.60
Barber	20	20	23	19	22	20.10
Salesman	23	23	22	22	23	20.42
Filling station worker	25	24	24	24	24	23.00
Baseball player	26	26	28	27	25	23.84
Janitor	26	26	28	27	26	25.82
Truck driver	28	28	27	28	27	25.86
Household servant	27	27	26	26	28	25.93
Ditch digger	29	29	29	29	29	27.67
Man of leisure	30	30	30	30	30	29.61

numerical rankings by the four groups. The status of each of these occupations, one will conclude, is rather definite in the minds of these students.

The dispersion (not indicated) was much greater in some occupations than in others. The top and bottom classifications tended toward a small "scatteration" on the tally sheets used for arriving at the medians, which fact seems to indicate that the status of those occupations is better established with this group.

In the similar study made of twenty-four occupations among college students in North Carolina, the first ten occupations were rated in the following order: (1) clergyman, (2) physician, (3) professor, (4) banker, (5) engineer, (6) manufacturer, (7) lawyer, (8) school teacher, (9) farmer, and (10) merchant. A comparison of the two studies shows that Texas students tended to rank the preacher and the banker lower in importance to society.

A general classification reveals that the professions are ranked first; second, business occupations; third, skilled trades; and fourth, unskilled work. No consistency of ranking was shown for the recreational occupations, as is witnessed in the positions of musician (14), poet (20), and baseball player (25). The man of leisure, representing no specific occupation, came last. There was least dispersion of attitudes for rankings one and thirty. It is interesting to note that the physician fared the most favorably. This fact accords with Harold J. Laski's observation that "In America, as Tocqueville noted . . . the American physician has outdistanced all other types as the embodiment of public virtues."<sup>5</sup>

## II. THE EMPLOYED GROUP

Very obvious reasons are advanced by those who question the assumption that the reactions or attitudes of col-

<sup>5</sup> Harold J. Laski, "The Decline of the Professions," *Harpers*, November, 1935.

lege students actually represent the reactions of those who make up the larger community group, the members of which have been subjected to those conditioning factors peculiar to work itself. Such objections to studies involving college students as subjects for testing general attitudes may be raised to the first section of this study. College students do, after all, constitute a more or less selected group, and social heritages may differ so greatly that attitudes of other selected groups may produce different rankings; and, furthermore, such attitudes of college students may be subject to modification by experiences and contacts that come later with actual participation in the life of the larger community. With these possibilities in mind, this study was expanded to include two other groups, men actually employed and CCC workers, as a check on the results.

Two hundred of the same questionnaires presented to the college group were distributed among men of five northeast Texas towns. These towns, located in the region from which the majority of our college students come, represent a social and cultural background very similar to that of the college student body. Any difference that may appear, then, in the rankings of occupations by the employed group as compared to the college group would seem to be due to their actual experience in many different occupations.

There is the temptation to find in any data secured from individuals representing occupational groups some indication of relationships between personality and work conditions. As Professor Emory S. Bogardus has pointed out, such a relationship does exist:

The dominating role that occupation plays in the development of personality has never been clearly understood. . . .

Favorable experiences in an occupation together with favorable reflection regarding one's occupation produce *occupational-centrism*.

An occupation comes to occupy the center of a person's life. . . .

Accompanying occupational-centrism is the expressed belief that one's occupation is the best in the world. Doing things with increased success in a given occupation brings an emotional enthusiasm that blurs one's perspective and evaluative ability. . . . This type of generalized occupational attitude may be called *occupational positivism*.

By a reverse psychological process, unfavorable experiences in an occupation and unfavorable reflection regarding one's occupation lead to what has been called *occupational negativism*.<sup>6</sup>

Even in a limited study, relationships between occupation and personality can be found, and interest in connection with the manner in which men rate their own occupations arises. From the thirty-nine responses which included representatives of occupations on the rating sheet, it was found that nine gave their occupation the same ranking given it by the employed group as a whole; thirteen gave their occupation lower ranking; and seventeen gave theirs higher ranking. The occupational groups showing the greatest agreement with the ranking by the whole group were bankers, teachers, and college professors. Whether or not this also is a measure of little occupational-centrism is not, of course, very clear. Perhaps the best examples found here of occupational positivism are in the case of the insurance agent who ranked his own occupation first as compared to a sixteenth ranking by the whole group; the salesman who ranked himself fourth as against eighteenth by the group; the engineer who ranked himself first as against ninth by the group; and the filling station workers who gave themselves the rather low rank of fifteenth, but who were ranked still lower (23) by the group as a whole.

Table III, following, gives the order of ranking of the thirty occupations by the employed group as determined by medians.

<sup>6</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, "Personality and Occupational Attitudes," *Sociology and Social Research*, 12:73-79, 1927.

TABLE III  
RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS BY EMPLOYED GROUP

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Median</i>
1.	Preacher	2.94
2.	Physician	3.0
3.	School Teacher	4.37
4.	Professor	5.0
5.	Farmer	5.8
6.	Banker	7.26
7.	Manufacturer	9.33
8.	Lawyer	9.5
9.	Engineer	9.6
10.	Merchant	10.0
11.	Trained Nurse	10.0
12.	Carpenter	15.0
13.	Bookkeeper	15.58
14.	Policeman	16.0
15.	Clerk	16.28
16.	Insurance Agent	16.77
17.	Musician	17.5
18.	Salesman	18.125
19.	Stenographer	19.33
20.	Mechanic	20.2
21.	Soldier	20.71
22.	Poet	21.42
23.	Filling Station Worker	22.0
24.	Barber	22.42
25.	Baseball Player	25.28
26.	Household Servant	25.37
27.	Truck Driver	25.5
28.	Janitor	26.0
29.	Ditch Digger	27.36
30.	Man of Leisure	29.0

A comparison of Table III with the ranking by college students shows that the actively employed men do not differ very strikingly from the college group. There is a rather high correlation between the rankings of the two groups, the coefficient being plus .945. At the two extremes, there is almost exact agreement, the first five occupations and the last six in the two sets of rankings being the same with only slight variations in the order. At the head of the

list in the employed men's ranking, we find four service occupations given precedence over any business occupations. The tendency of business men as a group, however, to give higher rank to those occupations related directly to business pursuits is noticeable. They are in the list of occupations to be ranked six which fall most readily into the strictly "business" classification: viz., banker, merchant, bookkeeper, clerk, and salesman. Without exception these occupations were ranked higher by business men than by college students.

On the whole, however, the ranking of occupations by these employed men follows the general pattern found elsewhere in this study. If degree of "scatteration" in the rankings of an occupation by individuals is an indication of uncertain social status of that occupation, or of changing mores toward it, it is revealed by the business group as well as by the college group.

### III. THE CCC GROUP

Some personal data relative to the CCC group may be pertinent at this point to throw some light on the reactions noted. In age, they averaged twenty; in education, completion of the eighth grade. Less than eight per cent had ever gone to college, and none of these had gone beyond the sophomore year. Sixty per cent of them were the sons of farmers, most of the others being the sons of unskilled and semiskilled laborers. Not more than fifty per cent had chosen a vocation.

The fact that the coefficients of correlation of other groups with the CCC group were less than that for the college and business groups may be attributed to the lower state of literacy of the CCC group, and to certain environmental factors which keep them from being a fair cross-section of the entire populace.

TABLE IV  
RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS BY CCC GROUP

<i>Rank</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Median</i>
1.	Farmer	2.7
2.	Physician	7.2
3.	School Teacher	8.1
4.	Professor	8.45
5.	Preacher	8.5
6.	Manufacturer	8.6
7.	Banker	9.25
8.	Engineer	9.64
9.	Lawyer	10.9
10.	Trained Nurse	12.4
11.	Carpenter	12.43
12.	Merchant	12.8
13.	Policeman	14.2
14.	Bookkeeper	14.63
15.	Soldier	15.45
16.	Mechanic	15.5
17.	Poet	17.08
18.	Barber	18.08
19.	Stenographer	18.2
20.	Clerk	19.1
21.	Musician	19.8
22.	Insurance Agent	20.4
23.	Baseball Player	20.5
24.	Salesman	20.6
25.	Truck Driver	21.2
26.	Filling Station Worker	23.3
27.	Household Servant	23.86
28.	Janitor	23.88
29.	Ditch Digger	26.8
30.	Man of Leisure	29.5

#### IV. CONCLUSION

A study of this kind which tabulates the numerical ranking of occupations by certain groups leads one to the conclusion that involved in it are many significant and revealing facts—besides the obvious interest which attaches to occupational status per se. The rather striking similarity found in the attitudes of the three groups is indication that

we have here a fairly well fixed set of attitudes to work with. Obviously the greater the similarity in social and cultural background, the greater the similarity in attitudes revealed by these rankings. Table V which gives a comparison of the numerical rankings by all three groups, shows a somewhat higher correlation between the business group and the college group, than between either of these groups and the CCC group. It seems logical to assume that the CCC group represents a somewhat different social and cultural background.

Since attitudes within groups do show a rather reliable common response, their implications for occupational satisfaction or dissatisfaction, for occupational positivism or negativism, for personality types, et cetera, become more significant.

The sensitivity of an occupation to its status or what the public thinks of it is illustrated in the following quotation from a trade journal:

If we analyze the factors that affect the social health of the major professions we find that most important is what the public thinks of them. The legal profession has often suffered severely because its members believed they could successfully defy public opinion. The medical and dental professions have been more careful. Teachers and clergymen have been most circumspect. The few exceptions always create a sensation because they are so exceptional.

When we consider our funeral directing profession . . . reputation is so important that it must be carefully built up and then carefully sustained if the business or profession is to prosper.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, an approach of a sort to the troublesome problems of work satisfaction and of occupational types may be suggested here through a study of occupational status in the community. Such attitudes may have little to do with the

<sup>7</sup> Bert S. Gadd, "The Profession and the Public," *National Funeral Director*, August, 1934, p. 27.

TABLE V

COMPARISON OF NUMERICAL RANKING OF OCCUPATIONS  
BY THE THREE GROUPS

<i>College Group</i>	<i>Business Group</i>	<i>CCC Group</i>
1. Physician	1. Preacher	1. Farmer
2. Preacher	2. Physician	2. Physician
3. School Teacher	3. School Teacher	3. School Teacher
4. Professor	4. Professor	4. Professor
5. Farmer	5. Farmer	5. Preacher
6. Lawyer	6. Banker	6. Manufacturer
7. Banker	7. Manufacturer	7. Banker
8. Trained Nurse	8. Lawyer	8. Engineer
9. Manufacturer	9. Engineer	9. Lawyer
10. Engineer	10. Merchant	10. Trained Nurse
11. Policeman	11. Trained Nurse	11. Carpenter
12. Merchant	12. Carpenter	12. Merchant
13. Carpenter	13. Bookkeeper	13. Policeman
14. Musician	14. Policeman	14. Bookkeeper
15. Bookkeeper	15. Clerk	15. Soldier
16. Mechanic	16. Insurance Agent	16. Mechanic
17. Stenographer	17. Musician	17. Poet
18. Clerk	18. Salesman	18. Barber
19. Soldier	19. Stenographer	19. Stenographer
20. Poet	20. Mechanic	20. Clerk
21. Insurance Agent	21. Soldier	21. Musician
22. Barber	22. Poet	22. Insurance Agent
23. Salesman	23. Filling Station Worker	23. Baseball Player
24. Filling Station Worker	24. Barber	24. Salesman
25. Baseball Player	25. Baseball Player	25. Truck Driver
26. Truck Driver	26. Household Servant	26. Filling Station Worker
27. Janitor	27. Truck Driver	27. Household Servant
28. Household Servant	28. Janitor	28. Janitor
29. Ditch Digger	29. Ditch Digger	29. Ditch Digger
30. Man of Leisure	30. Man of Leisure	30. Man of Leisure

## COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION

Business group with college group	plus .945
Business group with CCC group	plus .904
College group with CCC group	plus .918

isolated factor of work conditions within that community, and less to do with the oft-mentioned effects of mechanized labor; instead the key to an understanding of the anomaly of occupational satisfaction here and occupational dissatisfaction there under identical conditions of life and labor, is, apparently, more likely to be found in an investigation of social processes which bring changing attitudes for the group as a whole.

## THE ONE-ACRE FARMER<sup>1</sup>

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No sooner had the depression of 1929 set in than thousands of industrial workers in every large community found themselves without the customary weekly wage. Such resources as they had were soon exhausted or seriously diminished. Many wage earners discovered after weeks and months of job-hunting that no ordinary depression was facing them. Hopeful optimism rapidly vanished. After two or three years of deprivation, idleness, relief, and general chaos, vast schemes of social reform and government reform began to grow.

Throughout this entire period of governmental programs and Utopian reform proposals, a more deeply rooted and significant movement was under way without any fanfare and with little official encouragement. Thousands of families sought to return to mother earth before they became irretrievable victims of the depression; other thousands sought to escape the effects of public relief and to produce for their own use the basic necessities of life, especially food and shelter. With the meager remnants of their cash capital and goods still convertible into cash they started out on their own initiative to "begin all over again" on the soil, hopeful of their ability to carve out a new destiny for themselves and their families. Few foresaw clearly the problems of their new life; many, however, had keenly felt the agonies of the conditions of life for the unemployed in the city.

The experiences of the new farmers run a wide gamut of security and insecurity, of success and failure. Many dif-

<sup>1</sup> The research for this project was made possible through a grant-in-aid by the Social Science Research Council, Inc., New York City.

ferent degrees of independence from city employment are achieved; many contrive curious makeshifts which enable them to carry on in the new and unfamiliar life with only a minimum of conveniences and even of necessities. Lack of familiarity with farm conditions and consequent poor judgment—added to inadequate capital, lack of equipment, and lack of perspective—have been offset only by well-nigh heroic and persistent struggles, and much genuine enthusiasm for the life of the pioneer.

The new farmer is not pioneering in the traditional sense of that term. He does not leave behind him the amenities of civilized life, he does not set out to conquer the wilderness, nor is he isolated from his fellows and almost completely dependent upon his own efforts for sustenance. On the contrary he has access to the city market; he profits by exchanges for needed tools, textiles, luxury goods, and other articles which he desires for a higher standard of living, but which he does not produce himself. The wilderness pioneer on the other hand experienced hazardous living, exhausting toil, social isolation, and frequently dire poverty until he was well established and the frontier was conquered.

Superficially, the life of the new pioneer is far different from that of his forefathers in the wilderness, but the social attitudes and the social situations of the two have certain significant common characteristics. Both are products of social unrest and economic pressure, both are restating their goals, both are carving out new destinies for themselves and their families, both are breaking, in some sense, with their past and tearing away from their rootage in the old community. In this process old adjustments, social arrangements, and routines undergo change, development, and growth.

Certain questions, however, have been raised: Is this new movement to the land producing a peasant class? If

so, what are its characteristics, its significance to our social-economic organization? What are its effects upon the personalities of its members?

To secure answers to these and to other questions 308 families living in sixteen different communities, chiefly in southern California, and 100 families living in El Monte, California, on the government subsistence homesteads, were studied.

These families have turned to the land under a variety of circumstances. Many have squatted on a lot of waste land, others have bought small parcels of cheap land wherever they could find them. Real estate companies have subdivided a number of tracts especially designed for this type of settler. The instance of a settlement promoted by a philanthropist to help with the relief problem was discovered. The federal government has also entered this field with two rural settlements in Los Angeles County. The conditions in one of these latter projects will bring into focus many of the problems of the new farmer.

The subsistence homestead unit at El Monte, as all other units, aims at a combination of part-time industrial employment with part-time agriculture, as well as a combination of the best elements of both city and country living which the families can devise. The one hundred carefully selected families (comprising 330 people) now living at El Monte (government project No. 37) are all employed in the city of Los Angeles or other nearby communities. Their average earnings are \$85 a month, and the average age of the wage earner is 35 years. They are all of what might be called "typical white American stock." For the most part families rather than single, unattached persons, were given preference, although a few of the latter were also selected.

The government carefully avoided choosing land which would require families "to move away from their accus-

tomed communities, to remote country sections, abandoning the cultural and educational opportunities of city and town life for the primitive existence of the pioneer settler." The present subsistence homesteads program deliberately aimed to avoid a "back-to-the-farm movement" of an industrial population accustomed to a relatively high standard of living.

Governmental agents in charge of subsistence homestead units maintain that the projects must be considered not only as a building program but as an encouragement of a way of life which promises greater economic security as well as greater social values and human satisfaction to those who take it up. Therefore, careful planning must be carried on from the homesteader's point of view, taking into full account his demands for cultural and social life.

Supplemental farming, therefore, varies in kind all the way from the migration of a single family to a bit of farm land on the margin of a city to a carefully planned colonization of selected new farmers under the tutelage of a national government bureau. In any case, it opens up a new frontier and presages a realignment of social and economic forces so radical in character as to foreshadow the emergence of a new social economy and a new style of life for a large group of Americans, who are coming to believe that their greatest luxury is some degree of economic security.

The most urgent problem for many families outside the government projects is that of suitable shelter. Adequate housing depends upon financing arrangements more than on any other single factor. Those who have moved onto vacant land suffer most severely in this respect.

Building conditions of the new farmers vary as much as other circumstances of life, from very nice, modern stucco homes, to shacks built of old boards and covered

with canvas. Since there are few or no zoning regulations nice homes may stand next to ramshackle hovels. There is no level below which one cannot build. Twenty-seven per cent of the families interviewed (exclusive of those living on the government project) live in makeshift dwellings, chiefly garages, while they are actually building or expecting to build permanent houses, depending on California climate to permit them to live comfortably in tents nine months of the year. An additional eighteen per cent live in houses which are badly in need of repair, paint, remodeling, and new roofing.

The methods of supplementing income are numerous and varied, depending on the resourcefulness of the family, the amount of the investment, the ages of persons engaged in farming, and the former occupations and outlook on life. Of the 308 families interviewed, 212, or 68.8 per cent, are dependent on some sort of city employment in which the husband or the wife or an adult child is engaged. The remaining 84 families, or 31.2 per cent, depend on federal work relief, on county aid, on government pensions, on rentals from city property, on sales of eggs and chickens. Only twelve families, that is, 3.9 per cent, depend solely on food-stuffs raised on the farm. Some secure a precarious income from a variety of odd jobs.

The fortuitous nature of the urban-rural combination which the new farmers make in order to supply the necessary cash nexus indicates how tentative this form of social economy still remains. No standard patterns have as yet developed, each individual being compelled to seek out an independent solution of the problem. In very few cases, indeed, does the result indicate a highly efficient mode of life but rather is a result of pressing exigencies.

Clearly the new farmers have a long road to travel if their economic returns from the soil are to be commensu-

rate with their labor. The more intelligent among them realize that they would be much more wealth-productive in industry than in agriculture, provided industry could absorb all of their labor over the entire period of their working life. They point out that, since they cannot depend on industry for security at those times when they most urgently need it, they must fall back upon enterprises which they can finance very poorly, and in which they start with a minimum of skill, thus making them at best marginal workers. But it is evident that in spite of losses due to ignorance and poor judgment in agricultural enterprises, in spite of inadequate equipment and lack of capital, these people are gradually progressing and consider their investment of time and energy far better spent on the whole than when living in the city. Social and personal satisfactions with the new life do not seem to be dependent upon an efficient social economy, on steady employment, or adequate housing.

Judged in terms of expenditures for material goods, the supplemental farmer frequently maintains a much reduced standard of living. When, however, we include all that may conceivably go into social and moral well-being in addition to economic goods—fresh air, quiet and peaceful surroundings, spaciousness, the beauties of nature, simpler and more personal human relations, relative freedom from competitive spending—it may well be that these values more than offset the losses suffered in respect to fine clothing, rapid transportation, the “higher culture,” and mechanical conveniences. It may be maintained, however, that even in respect to material well-being, the standard of living of the supplemental farmer is high. It may well be that in adopting a new *mode* of life he has made it difficult if not impossible to make a satisfactory comparison of the new and old standards of life.

One senses in the attitudes of the bulk of the new pioneers the outcropping of the same tradition of rugged individualism which played so powerful a role in pioneering of an earlier day. Collectivist sentiments and ideas seem to be almost absent among them. Successes and failures they are accustomed to attribute to themselves with only a very vague awareness of the larger conditioning forces in their lives.

Failure to understand and to bring under social control for the common good the vast forces of the new urban industrial world re-awakens in them the individualistic habits of an earlier generation which lay dormant as long as industry was able to provide the "bread and circuses" of city living. Thousands are thus seeking consciously or unconsciously to break their thralldom to the machine, the money system, the market, the public servant, and to achieve a new freedom.

On the new farm the family's labor produces a permanent investment, natural wealth, in the form of cultivated land, a home which they own and do not rent; tools, live stock, farm equipment, which are factors in the production of tangible, useful articles. Many have concluded that though permanently employed as city wage earners, the economic system has little to offer them or their children in the form of future investment since the results of their labor bring them little or nothing beyond the immediate necessities of life.

The new farmer is receiving little help in making his adjustment to his new mode of life from the traditional American institutions. The school and church, especially, have as yet secured no perspective of the movement and the needs of the new group. The new farmers are still leaderless, unorganized, and with little clear conception of the character of the movement in which they are more or less unconsciously participating.

Much of the current reflections upon the wider meanings of their new mode of life is rationalization and serves to compensate them for supposed losses through the change from the city that they have made. Yet the impartial observer cannot but be strongly impressed by the sincerity of their feeling of relief from oppression and fear of insecurity and the sense of a new and more genuine freedom so generally and enthusiastically expressed by them.

On the other hand, the student of social life is again confronted at this point with some difficult questions: Will not these families who have been rebuffed in their efforts to assimilate into the social economic life of the city, and who now find themselves on more or less marginal land, living at a substandard level, dependent upon uncertain wages and precarious agricultural activities, eventually become a sort of American peasantry? The question may also be raised with respect to their ability to share in the general welfare of the country, to participate fully in the dynamic changes of modern life, and to escape intellectual, economic, social, and cultural isolation and stagnation. How will these people share in the democratic values and attitudes of the American commonwealth? The inhabitants of these colonies are not, generally speaking, successful, energetic, competent people, capable of carving out a satisfactory destiny for themselves and their families. Many are marginal men and women who are among the first to suffer from technological developments, industrial and economic changes, and social neglect.

Once they have mastered the technique of the new life, however, it may be that, under competent leadership, a new release of energy will occur, new creative impulses will be engendered, and a style of life developed which in its own right, by virtue of positive contributions, can offer the satisfactions implicit in the term "higher culture." Such pos-

sibilities for the American peasantry may well liquidate the fears of those social prophets who foresee in the present movement the reappearance in numbers of "the man with a hoe," and of those who look upon the return to the soil by these people as mere escape from the economic problems which they cannot solve.

In short, there is little in the present movement to the land which of itself forebodes economic peonage, unrelieved drudgery, primitive and harsh conditions of life. As far as these conditions have arisen they are to be traced to the very factors which have been responsible for the degradation of multitudes in the city, such as unrestrained individualism, clogging of the channels of cultural diffusion, overemphasis on economic values, poor organizational technique, and lack of social statesmanship.

Conversely, there is little in the rural scene which will automatically and completely offset the disorganizing influences of those same factors. Yet, the individual family with its feet rooted in the soil, though only imperfectly, can better withstand the social and economic storms of modern life than the same family adrift in the city wilderness.

Supplemental farming clearly is not for everyone. Many who try it will fail, many will become dissatisfied and desert it. A process of sifting and sorting has already set in. A host of selective factors are operating to determine the ultimate population composition of these colonies. Estimates of turnover have run as high as 30 per cent annually. The significant thing is, however, not how many have tried supplemental farming and given it up for one reason or another, but how many have found in it the satisfaction they could not achieve otherwise.

## CHANGING MORAL BASES OF THE JAPANESE FAMILY IN HAWAII

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AN immigrant is spoken of as an uprooted and transplanted individual. This is true as applied to a physical being devoid of sentiment, belief, and memory. Psychologically, however, the immigrant is never quite uprooted; for a long time he remains attached to his old village. One evidence of the persistence of the old mores is in his transplanting and supporting his old world social institutions in the new environment. Moreover, the intensity of his old world moral sentiment is shown in his continuous rationalization of his "misconduct" and his attempt to find justification for it in the new culture.

Some change in an immigrant's attitudes toward his old moral codes, religious belief, language, ideology, and social organization is a cause as well as an effect of his entering into and sharing of the new culture. Gradually as he is admitted to a fuller participation in the life of the larger community his experience is widened, and in the course of time the mores are modified. In other words, some degree of liberation from the familial and village moral control is a prerequisite for an immigrant to participate more fully in the cultural life of the new community.

Everywhere the practices and mores of a people seem to have their most substantial habitat in the family, which serves to guard and aspires to perpetuate them in spite of the general change in social structures.<sup>1</sup> But the family does not exist in isolation. It is intimately and intricately related to all other social institutions and to the cultural

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, pp. 53-56.

configuration of the society. It changes its form and content in response to the general social changes, but hardly at the same rate of speed.<sup>2</sup> Changes are, however, not everywhere the same. In one situation, as in Japan, the family seems able to withstand the shocks of external forces, and keeps its moral bases more or less intact because it changes so slowly. In another situation, as in Hawaii, the Japanese family undergoes important external and internal changes. A comparative study of the Japanese family system in these two situations is not only interesting but important in throwing light on such questions as (a) the changeability of the moral bases of the Japanese family system, (b) the forces which tend to perpetuate the status of the family and those which initiate change, and (c) the relation between the decreasing moral influences of the old family system and the rate of acculturation and assimilation of the people. For the sake of brevity, attention is here limited to the first two.

In order to understand the phenomena underlying the changing family life of the Japanese people in Hawaii, the basic nature of the Japanese family system must briefly be described. In Japan the family<sup>3</sup> is the unit of social organization. In Japan the people think of the family as a continuing organization embracing not merely a man and his wife and children but also all others connected by blood or adoption. Not only the living but also the dead are included, and one might even say that those not yet born are members.<sup>4</sup> It rears the children and gives them their

<sup>2</sup> W. Ogburn, *Social Change*.

<sup>3</sup> In describing the present-day Japanese family system in Japan the past tense is often used. Changes are however, external and legal, and while in the realm of the mores the alteration is so slight as to justify the use of the present tense.

Although the Japanese sources were used, they are omitted for the sake of brevity, save those which are very useful to those who understand Japanese.

<sup>4</sup> T. Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, p. 153; Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan*, chapter v; W. E. Lampe, *The Japanese Social Organization*, pp. 44-46; Baron D. Kikuchi, *Japanese Education*, pp. 256-57; K. Ohara, *Shushin Kyoju no Jitsusai*, vol. I, pp. 550-798; also, K. Miyamoto, *Kekkon no Ki-cho*, pp. 169-74.

status in the family; while, in the larger community, it assures them, in addition, nearly the same social position as the family head. In short, everyone's social status is rooted deeply in the family system and is less subject to individual competitive struggle.

Every member of the family, especially the eldest son, is taught early by his parents that his paramount duty is to increase the prestige of his family.

At night when I was in bed my father used to kneel by me, his eldest son, and say, "When you grow big you must become a great man and distinguish our family name." This instruction was given me repeatedly and it went deeply into my heart.<sup>5</sup>

Naturally,

To elevate the name of one's family becomes a spur to virtue and a curb to vices and attains the dignity of a religious duty. We owe our being to our parents, and through them to our ancestors, and we can repay them only by gratitude and by showing forth their glory; hence nothing is more humiliating to one's self respect than to bring into disrepute one's cognomen.<sup>6</sup>

The family name is more than a fact of nomenclature. It is a symbol of the kinship group which has a long history in the community. Not only does it assign a categorical ranking to every individual in the community by designating him as belonging to an "old" or a "new" family, a "desirable" or an "undesirable" family; but also it makes him more and more conscious of his family status. This is because such a differential stratification nurtures the attitudes of family pride and jealousy which help to maintain group solidarity.

In the course of its history the Japanese family has come to enjoy the sanctions of the religious sentiments of ances-

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in J. W. Robertson-Scott, *The Foundations of Japan*, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Inazo Nitobe, *The Japanese Nation*, pp. 158-59.

tor worship, and the ethical codes of filial piety which encourage and, in the main, coerce every family member to subordinate his individual desires to the good of the family. "Be loyal to thy land and be filial to thy parents" is the commandment of the Japanese ethical code. Filial piety is the foundation of all knowledge without which one could never discern the deep meaning of humanity.<sup>7</sup>

Where the social organization rests primarily on the family and not on the individuals, loyalty, obedience, fidelity, and respect for tradition are set above all other virtues. The family, the educational institutions, and the community as a whole endeavor to create individuals who are pious toward their parents. The training of children to be dutiful and respectful toward their parents is not such a difficult problem. Where everyone is pious it is more painful to be impious. The parents, by being obedient and pious toward their own fathers and mothers, set the standard of good conduct to their children. The grandparents seize upon every opportunity to tell about the lives of the national and communal heroes, always pictured as brave, pious, and loyal men. In school the children learn that filial piety and loyalty are the foundations of Japanese morality. Moreover, the community is rich with the tales of the living as

<sup>7</sup> In the days of the Tokugawa feudalism, the government found the teaching of the scholars, who upheld the doctrine of filial piety, to be indispensable in assuring a concerted social activity and a stable family life among the people. From time to time, the government issued proclamations with regard to the right conduct of its subjects, and these were read to the congregations of peasants on festival occasions or posted at the intersections of the fields. For example, the proclamation of February 26, 1649, reads as follows:

Be filial to thy parents. The first precept of filial piety is to keep thyself healthy. It is especially pleasing to parents if thou refrain from drinking and quarreling, and love thy younger brother and obey thy elder brother. If thou hold to the above principle, blessings of gods and Buddha will be upon thee, and thou mayst walk in the right path and thy land shall bring forth good harvests. On the other hand, if thou become indulgent and lazy, thou wilt become poor and broken, and finally resort to stealing. Then the law shall overtake thee and bind thee with rope and put thee in a cage, and perhaps hang thee. If such a thing happens, how heartbroken thy parents must be! Moreover, thy wife and children and brothers must all suffer punishment because of thy crime. It is, therefore, very important that thou keep thyself straight and industrious day and night. . . . Keep, therefore, the above precept always in thy mind and teach thy sons and grandsons to be ever industrious.

Matsuyo Takizawa, *The Penetration of Money Economy in Japan*, p. 118.

well as of the dead who made themselves renowned by the performance of filial duties. As the children observe daily the code of filial piety in actual practice within and without their homes, they grow into it and accept it as the only proper conduct toward their parents. The family by emphasizing the importance of children being pious and reverential toward their parents and ancestors makes the parent-child relationship sacred.

Filial piety, the foundation of the ethical system of the Japanese, cannot be understood apart from ancestor worship. The filial duty of a son is a continuous obligation as long as the family is in existence. It is handed down from one generation to another. "Fathers may not be fathers but sons must always be sons," and they must learn to be more pious than their fathers were to their forefathers. Ancestor worship, as it exists in the minds of the people, is more than a cult. It is rather the sentiment and attitude of gratitude, thanksgiving, and awe which the living members of the family cherish toward their ancestors, who "are believed to remain among those who loved them. Unseen they guard the home, and watch over the welfare of its inmates."<sup>8</sup>

The people generally believe that it is the accumulation of ancestral effort which is responsible for the goodness and prosperity in the family. "Happiness comes to the house whose ancestors were virtuous." Therefore, it is a crime against the forefathers to reduce the prestige or merit of the family. "Sons must be sons." They must be pious and diligent, and add to the glory and prestige of the family, and thereby please their ancestors. To peasants, for example, it is the land they add to the family wealth which is the monument of their life work. An old farmer says to his sons:

<sup>8</sup> Lafcadio Hearn, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

To open a new paddy field, to plant the bare hillside with trees, these are our monument. How lonely it would be for me if there were no monument left after my death. However small this paddy field may be, it will not be forgotten so long as it yields for your posterity the blessing of its rice crop.<sup>9</sup>

It is the sense of gratitude and affection which one feels toward an illustrious ancestor that is the essence of ancestor worship. The house, the land, the family cemetery, the healthy body, and all other blessings of the family are the symbols of the love and affection of one's ancestors. These symbols are the concrete objects, and the intimate parts of the life of family members. They remind them constantly of the love and affection of those who preceded them.

An individual member is morally and religiously so rooted in the family that he is an inseparable part of it. The social status of a person is so intimately a part of the family status that he as an individual enjoys little opportunity to test his potential capacity and ability apart from his family. The fact that he belongs to a family of good standing is of a great advantage. The fact that an individual's existence depends so much on the integrity of his family serves to unify the activities of all members into a single family whole.

In maintaining the family's good name and prestige, it is paramount that all should work together and the spirit of solidarity and co-operation is one of the most important principles of everyday conduct; by it alone can the family status be perpetuated. Aggressive individualism at the expense of the family is condemned as an impiety. The attitudes of solidarity and co-operation were firmly institutionalized in the Tokugawa period, and the people became more and more property conscious and, consequently, more immobile. The land was the communal possession of the

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Robertson-Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

family; and the individual member was not recognized. Since the family was an economically self-sufficing unit, all the members contributed their labor for the production of the means of subsistence; and what they jointly produced they freely shared. The success of the family economy depended so much on the fixity of its members that moving about was greatly discouraged; a filial son was never supposed to go away from his home when he could help his father.

All in all the doctrine of filial piety, religious sentiment of ancestor worship, and the attitudes of solidarity and co-operation for the good of the family, are the forces which root the people deeply into their families and the community of their birth. Society is immobile. Social relations are sacred. The village and the family control conduct.<sup>10</sup> So long as the family rests upon filial piety, ancestor worship, and respect for tradition, the family is a sacred institution, and it resists scientific exploration.

In Hawaii the Japanese family system is undergoing changes. Immigration has resulted in the creation of conditions that tend to weaken moral bases of the family. The removal of the immigrants from their families and home communities meant that they left behind all the prestige which went with their family names. They left behind, too, the living symbols of land, house, family cemetery, and the village shrines which constantly reminded them of the love and affection of their illustrious forefathers. The economic system of Hawaii, with its money wages, has tended to undermine family solidarity. The presence of other peoples whose family systems have different moral bases has helped to weaken family sentiment among the Japanese.

<sup>10</sup> In the words of Hearn,

Tradition and customs still have the force of religious obligations. Indeed, they really are religious and obligatory, not only by reason of their origin, but by reason of their relation also to the public cult, which signifies the worship of the past. The ethics of Shinto were all included in conformity to custom. The traditional rules of the commune—these were the morals of Shinto: to obey them was religion; to disobey them impiety. *Japan*, p. 112.

In Hawaii the immigrants are individuals and strangers. In the highly mobile and secularized society of Hawaii, the old world family status means practically nothing, and the immigrants are continually faced with the need for a new social recognition based upon personal merit. A too frequent reference to their old home family status endangers their social position in the immediate community; it creates a jealous antagonism on the part of those who were of inferior status in Japan. The latter insist that in Hawaii all are equal. Did they not all start life as field laborers? In the course of time as sentiment toward the family name and status waned, the immigrants became less and less concerned about the status of their family in Japan.

The immigration was an individual movement: the parents to whom filial piety was due were left behind. For some time after their arrival in Hawaii, the immigrants conformed to their conception of filial duty and sent money to their parents. When their wives came they helped to perpetuate the sentiment of duty. But the longer they remained the less easy it became for the immigrants to be pious toward their parents.

The growing need of the money to support their own increasing families made it difficult for the immigrants to contribute money as family piety required; the death of the parents put an end to this filial obligation. The longer they remained in Hawaii the less disposed they were to conform to the ancient standards of filial piety. In the present, filial piety remains, but largely as an abstract and not very effective principle of moral conduct.

Filial piety and ancestor worship mutually condition each other. The waning of the sentiment of filial piety means the diminishing of the moral control of ancestor worship. In the absence of the concrete symbols of ancestral affections—the land, house, family cemetery—an-

cestor worship lost its dynamic religious drive and became, in the course of time, a mystical abstraction. Even the growing number of religious congregations of Buddhism and Shintoism can not halt the process.

The community into which the people were transplanted had all the earmarks of a secular society.<sup>11</sup> Hawaii was, on the whole, a meeting place of fortune seekers. The relations between the Japanese and others were largely impersonal. Traditional and communal control became ineffective. In conjunction with this diminishing communal control was the growing individualism among the immigrants. With an abnormal sex ratio many of them committed immoral acts and they were free from communal punishment. "*Tabi no haji wa kaki sute*" or "Once over the borders, one may do anything." Such a saying is an evidence of the sensitiveness of the people to communal punishment. Hawaii is far from the old home village and the fact that a man knew that he was far away, made him less responsive to criticism. But the growing number of women and children within the last two decades has tended to stabilize social life and the webs of expectation and obligation are beginning to be woven anew.

In the absence of the communal possession of the family property concerted action in maintaining and perpetuating such property becomes unimportant. The economic philosophy of individual competition is not conso-

11 What characterizes a sacred society is not so much antiquity as immobility. The sacred society is typically a small, isolated community and more particularly the primary group—i.e., the family, the clan, or the religious sect,—a society, in short, where everything is known and every one is bound to every one else by obligations that are at once personal and sacred.

The thing that characterizes secular society, on the other hand, is its mobility. It is composed of people who come together because they are useful to one another; because they have interests, permanent or temporary, that make association profitable; or merely because they are curious about one another, and about the world in which these others live. . . .

R. E. Park, "The Problem of Cultural Differences," *American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations*, 1931, pp. 14-15.

nant with family solidarity and co-operation. A business man who is imbued with a sense of business success says:

I am a man of few friends. It is too expensive to have too many friends which means an increase in my family social expenses. I am of the opinion that some day the time will come when we go so far that what is considered as the evils of today, will be regarded as right and proper.

I tell my children to be independent and self-reliant. I tell them that I do not ever think of depending on them when I become an old man. I have enough money saved to take care of myself. When my savings are all gone, well, I can take my own life. I am going to take care of my children until they are twenty-one, then they must go out and earn their own living and be independent. There are too many first generation men who depend entirely too much on their children. The second generation have the world of their own to live, and I don't believe in preventing them from growing in their own way.

With the increasing number of the second-generation men and women the weakening influences of the moral bases of the Japanese family became more and more conspicuous. There is no single force greater than the effect of American education in breaking down the moral bases of the family. The school emphasizes individualism against collectivism, democracy against autocracy, individual right of property against communal property of the family, and character training for the good of the individual citizen against moral education for the good of the commune and the family. In short, what the children learn at public schools does not harmonize with the mores of their parents. But practical experience in the larger community tends to support what the schools teach. A second generation Japanese writes about his conception of ideal marriage and family life, which is wholly American.

The idea of marriage which my parents have is that they should find wives for the boys, and find husbands for the girls and force

each child to marry when the circumstances seem to be in their favor. But my idea of marriage is to marry the one I love, and chosen by myself.

I prefer to marry a Hawaiian born member of my own race, because they know the custom of Hawaii and have a better understanding of Democracy than those born in Japan. Besides, if the one I marry lives in the same community with me, I have the opportunity of knowing her well, and I can judge her character.

My parents' ideas on the freedom of women, the independence of children, are entirely different from mine. They make their daughters obey them, and find the husbands and wives for their children and force them to marry. I believe in the absolute freedom of women, go with whom they please, and wherever they want.

My idea of ideal family life is that all the members of the family take part in family affairs, tell stories to each other, parents take part with children and amuse them; and in return, the children love their parents and have interest in their family. If I set up a family, the first change I will bring about is the arrangement of house from Japanese mats to rugs, tables and chairs. Then I will make changes in food and in many other home utensils.

Having been born into a family group whose attitudes toward the old moral bases of the family are already changing, having been educated in the public schools, the Hawaiian-born are able to participate more freely in the larger community life and they tend to regard family name, filial piety, ancestor worship and family solidarity as foreign.

These are the demoralizing forces of the Japanese family system. Associated with the weakening of the moral control of the Japanese family is the widening of horizon of experience of the individual members of the family. The philosophy of life is also being modified. Instead of the people desiring conformity, they aspire for change; instead of talking of the past, they talk of the future; and instead of security they want a new sort of success. In short, with the decommunalization of the sacred society comes the

new standard of conduct, and of living, conditioned in part by the things of the past—the Japanese culture—but largely by the things of the future—the American culture. With the changing moral bases of the Japanese family the stage is all set for acculturation to proceed, and for the scientist to study.

## SOCIAL ATTITUDES OF THE PRISON WARDEN

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A typical American prison is an institution characterized by an abnormal atmosphere created by the presence of antisocial and often maladjusted individuals. Confined within its limits are men seldom ready to accept their lot therein without objections. The lack of freedom, sense of repression, the spirit of revenge and hate, the yearning for feminine companionship, and a feeling of dejection and hopelessness are some of the mental characteristics found in the prisoners. But the outstanding feature about a prison is that it is a social institution, limited in its size, crowded with men having antisocial attitudes (at least from the legal viewpoint), who carry on their activities in unsound surroundings.

The man supervising such an institution, whether experienced or inexperienced, must very quickly learn how to deal with the whole abnormal character of such an institution.

He must be, first of all, a good judge of human nature; otherwise, he soon discovers that the place is very difficult to control, and if he cannot control it he then must relinquish his position. Every prison is by necessity crowded, and the well-known phenomenon of mass psychology prevails. Thus it is an easy matter to disrupt the morale of the prison by permitting overdissatisfaction of the prisoners to slide into insubordination; that is, by letting the inmates "get away with it," by the granting of special favors by the guards to some favorite prisoners, by the feeding of improper foods, by insufficient physical or mental exercise, by rumors—and by a thousand and one other seemingly insig-

nificant things. These aberrations must be detected and dealt with instantaneously by the warden, who controls his prison either through his personality or through the physical coercion of his guards. The most successful warden, however, is the one who depends more on the moral basis of authority.<sup>1</sup> In that respect his influence over the prison resembles somewhat the morale exercised by a general over his army. Such an army "travels on its belly," it is true, but can turn into a cowardly mob if the morale is absent.

In contrast to the army, however, the prison situation offers very little of idealism and final goal expressed in patriotism. The average prisoner, in fact, does not look upon discipline and training in prison as a goal in itself which will bring in promotion, advancement, and success. To many prisoners the penitentiary is not only a place of horror but also a place wherein any kind of work and discipline is an imposition from above. Consequently, most prisoners perform their work haphazardly as a routine matter, if not with resentment, and evade their responsibilities and discipline, whenever possible. The administrator of a prison is thus constantly confronted with innumerable pleas from the prisoners for special privileges, motivated essentially by the desire to get the best of the warden. If the warden proves to be an easy mark, and grants numerous favors indiscriminately, he may soon appear in the eyes of his prisoners as a fool, lacking judgment.

A warden soon learns, therefore, to be very suspicious of everybody with whom he comes into contact. Dealing constantly with men who are motivated more or less by hidden ambitions, the warden conditions himself to analyze each individual in his mind, if he is capable of it (or thinking that he is capable of it), and delves into the appli-

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to Dr. John W. Claudy, superintendent of the Rockview Farm Prison, for numerous suggestions.

cants' real aims. The very fact that so many unreasonable and quite obviously "foolish" requests are constantly presented to him, will cause a typical warden usually to see the worst in each individual, and his pessimistic approach may be counterbalanced by some optimism and good judgment, only if he can preserve his sense of equilibrium and be cognizant of realities. This requires a thorough training in psychology, sociology, medicine, and psychiatry as well as in associated fields of the humane sciences.

Being cautious of prisoners, the warden has a tendency to become equally suspicious of his associates and guards. Because a military atmosphere has to prevail in the prison, the guards are frequently punished for disobeying the rules. This offers naturally an inducement to the guards (to some of them at least), to evade their responsibilities in minor ways. Such indifference to the rules is bound to come to the warden's attention, and then he is liable to be suspicious of his guards, just as he is of his prisoners,—but probably to a slighter degree.

A prevalent general attitude of suspicion ordinarily develops into a spirit of mania, unless the warden is of strong character and can keep from becoming too nervous. Constant suspicion may prey upon the behavior and attitudes of the warden, and subsequently may make him a disagreeable person, who may become unreasonable, not being able to conceive that there are some good prisoners and guards who have very reasonable demands and worthy motives. His demeanor thus hardens; because of it he becomes disliked by everybody who has to deal with such a warden. In that respect, the warden soon discovers that the men around him lose confidence in him. Most guards and prisoners will fear him, it is true, but will not feel any moral obligations to co-operate with him, and may even get to the point of feeling quite gratified by "putting something over" on him.

If such a course of affairs develops, a general spirit of unrest is bound to develop in the prison, wherein everybody suspects everybody else and only brutal force can overcome the approaching crisis.

Moreover, it is not always possible to gain the confidence of all inmates. Many prisoners come to these institutions with a determination not to serve their time, if possible, especially if the period of their incarceration is too long. Some of them, after a time, submit themselves to reason. With others, the most extreme forceful measures have to be used in order to bring them to their senses. The difficulty, of course, is that the warden may be lulled into a spirit of comparative security, believing that the most vociferous objectors are willing to carry on peacefully their assigned tasks. But underneath their exterior lamb-like veneer may be hiding a strong spirit of opposition, which may be a scheming of a long time, biding its time. An eventual outbreak may again change the trusting inclinations of the warden and bring on the constant spirit of suspicion—as already described.

The typical warden, in addition, is confronted not only with his own internal prison, but also with the constant external questioning of the various civil groups interested in prison welfare. If the problems of the institution are being solved quietly, that does not mean that the interest of the numerous outside parties is inert. There are many individuals and groups who are proposing their own reforms; there are those who feel they have to do something for the prisoners; there are those who may have their acquaintances or relatives connected with or incarcerated in the prison and use every opportunity to "do something about it." The warden is in this manner confronted not only with the administration of the prison from within but also with the persistent pressures exerted from without. In case

troubles in the prison erupt, the warden has to face the possibility of an investigation by the governor's body or by the legislation. This procedure is not only very much resented, but even feared by the prison administrators who usually are met by individuals, appointed mostly because of their political influence, who often know nothing about the problems that face the warden, but can make his life thoroughly miserable by criticizing his ways and means of administration. It is no wonder then that the warden assumes a suspicious demeanor not only toward inmates and associates of the prison, but even toward the individuals who show any interest, either goodnatured or malicious, to the prison.

The warden, on the whole, is typified by the social attitudes of a kind similar to that which a soldier meets during wartime—with one major difference. In most instances the commanding officer knows that the army stands behind him, as well as his nation, as he wages war. But the warden never knows when the public or his prison will turn against him. He must be constantly prepared to face unforeseen troubles, not only in his institution, but also by bothersome individuals from without—governors, legislators, and organized pressure groups. This attitude of constant preparedness can ruin weak nervous individuals. The average duration of a warden's job is, therefore, comparatively very short, which is due not only to his mental and physical constitution but also to the way he is able to placate his superiors and keep running smoothly the machinery of his institution.

## TEN STANDARDS FOR GROUP WORK

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The group worker has been engaged in activities more strategic than he has ever dreamed. He has labored not simply at the very heart of small scale group life, but at one of the major phases of personality adjustment, and at the core of community reorganization. He has not yet fully realized that he has within reach a command of social situations in which case work itself finds its best treatment procedures, and community organization its major training grounds.

1. To the extent that group work has appreciated its possibilities in terms of solving the personality problems of its constituents, it is being evaluated highly. Herein lies its first major opportunity, but one that it has all too long overlooked because of a lack of training in this connection. Group workers have been sought for friendly advice, but their help has too often consisted of common sense judgments based on a thin knowledge of the social psychology of personality in general and on a limited acquaintance with the life history and past personal longings and defeats of the particular persons seeking aid. Many group workers have made use of only limited physical examination data, limited school data, limited personality inventory data, limited data concerning the social conditions in the home since the subject's infancy have been used, and hence, personality readjustment has not been often accomplished. Few personality records of importance have been kept. Until recently the group worker has not known how to go about obtaining a life history. Sometimes he has felt that such a procedure was unnecessary if not unwise.

Of course the group worker is not to become a full-fledged case worker, and of course he is not himself to handle complex personality problems, but rather he is to refer such cases to the proper trained persons. Yet he stands at the very threshold for the prevention of nearly all of the ills to which personality falls heir. With a comprehension of personality in its endocrine nature, its autonomic nature, its introvertive and extrovertive nature, its inferiority complexes nature, not to mention any of the pathological, neurotic, or psychotic tendencies, and with a thoroughly trained mind, the social group worker may be the first to recognize personality difficulties when they arise and before they have become chronic and unmanageable.<sup>1</sup>

2. In the second place the group worker is rated high if he has succeeded in playing a liaison role between the case worker and some social group. In other words, the case worker, especially from the psychiatric treatment viewpoint, which is now becoming widely diffused, will turn more and more for assistance to the group worker whose ability he can respect. Why? Because many of the clients of the social case worker need most of all that therapeutic treatment which comes from wholesome participation in a normal social group. The group worker thus holds the key to making a great deal of case work successful. To the extent that he measures up well in this new-found capacity will he be invited to participate within the folds of scientific social work.

In this capacity the group worker occupies a supersocial work position. He enables the case worker to achieve his

<sup>1</sup> A grave danger lurks here. The group worker after receiving a few lessons in the principles and methods of case work is likely to fall into the error of believing that he is pretty well equipped from the case work angle. He is almost certain to think that he is better informed and skilled than is actually the situation. He is in danger of allowing a smattering of case work information to lead him into the error that he knows the essentials. A possible safeguard is a full-fledged course in the principles of case work, followed by 200 or 300 hours of supervised field work.

highest possibilities, and at the same time he is enabled to understand the members of his groups in a way never open to him before. To the extent that he sees case work culminating in the groups over which he has direction, will he be in a position not only to bridge case work and group work but what is more important to integrate the two into a new and higher level of social work. To the degree that he develops social group life for persons of all ages will he be able to work hand in hand with case workers, dealing as they do with persons of all ages. Instead of the chasm growing wider between case work and group work, the group worker may be able not only to bring the two together but to promote a new kind of social work that will view case work and group work as the inseparable branches of the same sphere of human helpfulness.

3. Third, group work is being evaluated in terms of its general community service. It connects directly not only with case work but with community organization goals. Public welfare organizations, such as city playground departments, are being called upon to organize all the youth and adults in particular communities into appropriate group work activities. Private welfare agencies, likewise, are finding that they must plan and act in terms of the entire community in which they operate. Group workers thus are discovering that they need to know not only the case work approach but the essential nature and goal of community organization. The group worker is asking himself this question: Just how far and in what way is my group work contributing to a better community organization? He is no longer satisfied to assume that there is some such connection presumably. He is now forcing himself to point specifically to the ways in which there are definite changes in community life and action because of the group work that he directs. To this end the group worker needs

to know what all the welfare resources are in a given community. In this way he can co-operate best with these other agencies and he can refer his own clients to the proper co-operating agency for special assistance.

4. Another test, or fourth, of the completeness of group work is the degree to which it is able to supply its services to the young people in its community, who are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four. Group workers have rendered their greatest service to youth in its adolescent years, but they have not yet, barring a few notable exceptions, measured up to the needs of boys and girls who have left school and who are not adjusted as adults in a complicated world. This age-period, eighteen to twenty-four, or even later, is one in which many young men and women are floundering. The school has in the main lost sight of them. Home life is a bore, or perhaps a complete separation has occurred. Community life may be demoralizing. The age-period is one that is exceedingly difficult to organize into stable group life. Worst of all, many of these young people are not heard of or seen until after they have fallen into delinquency or moved some distance along the road of criminal behavior. While adequate programs of organization and of activities for this age-period are not yet in operation except here and there, group work cannot claim a hundred per cent efficiency in an underprivileged community until the social group needs of all these older youth are satisfactorily met.

5. Fifth, the highest type of group work helps each individual in its respective groups to organize his leisure time in terms of one, two, or more appropriate hobbies and avocations. If avocations are becoming as important to most persons as their vocations, then the group worker will need to become well trained in the principles of avocational guidance for individuals of all ages and kinds of personalities, and types of opportunities.

6. Sixth, group work is of high grade if in a given agency a carefully prepared set of records is available concerning each boy and girl who has been related to the agency, as long as he or she has been so related. Such a record to be useful contains not simply formal data, or minutes of meetings, but those data which describe and explain personality traits, mental conflicts, and attitudes toward social questions. Such records assume a confidential nature and are treated as such. To the extent that they are complete and accurate they are invaluable and they raise the status of group work to a high level.

7. In the seventh place the group worker is given high praise if and when he has trained a goodly proportion of his clientele in the art and science of leadership and followership. This is the group worker's original field; this is his most distinctive realm. He commands this situation in a laboratory sense. The conditions favor him. The groups with which he works are small. He comes to them with a degree of prestige. He can state a number of the conditions under which he will take charge. He is in a position to gather considerable personality data concerning each club member. He can diagnose each member in terms of potential leadership and followership traits. He can rotate leadership opportunities so that each member may be thoroughly tested in each of a number of leadership capacities. Similarly he has opportunities to try out the followership abilities of each club member. He can exercise every legitimate device of an inspirational nature that will bring out the best that is in each of his clientele and help each individual to organize that best in stable service.

8. Eighth, the group worker is being measured in terms of his success in increasing the democratic spirit and behavior of the group members. He can conduct one experiment after another in increasing the democratic conscious-

ness of his groups. His primary purpose in this connection is that of securing wholehearted participation of all the members in a common enterprise democratically selected. The degree to which he secures this participation for its own sake or for the sake of a common cause is an important measuring stick. The extent to which he can stimulate a group to develop skill in directing itself democratically and constructively is it to be evaluated highly.

Democratic leadership is the process of arousing in persons their latent abilities and of securing their expression in and through the development of the larger community. It is not a set of pleasant techniques for getting persons to do things for the leader. The training of democratic leaders for public life, therefore, lies closer to the group worker than to anyone else today. This training involves the proper conditioning of youth in a changing social order and for a new social order. It is not enough to train youth in the prevailing leadership skills that are successful today. If youth are to be the adequate leaders for twenty years hence then their present training needs to include the techniques necessary for being community leaders twenty years hence, and in a social order which will be greatly different from the present. Group work may be evaluated highly if it is already engaged in training youth for leadership and for followership in a social order where destructive competition is subordinated to helpful co-operation.

9. Ninth, how does the group work agency accommodate itself to volunteer workers? The volunteer has been of widespread and extensive assistance to the group. The field has been one to which the untrained volunteer has turned more than to any other. He has been an asset and yet a liability. Sometimes he has been considered a regular social worker to the chagrin of experienced social case workers. Inasmuch as the volunteer has been admitted to group

work without being asked to meet professional standards for admission, the field of group work has been denied standing by many social case workers. The large numbers of untrained volunteers in group work have given the impression that it is not professional social work. The extent that a group work agency insists on standards for its volunteer workers is a criterion for measuring that agency.

What shall group work do? Shall it eliminate volunteer service? Perhaps the answer lies in a middle ground, namely, of accepting volunteers on condition that they will submit themselves to a regular training program as long as they are with the agency, with the understanding that the training program is to be conducted by the agency if no better means are available. Social group work is being evaluated according to the nature of the training that it insists upon providing for its volunteer workers.

10. Tenth, a group work agency is being evaluated according to the way that it maintains some kind of evaluation research. Along with the promulgation of its program of activities it needs to have at least the beginning of a research division for measuring the effects or results of its various types of activities, for finding out what phases of its work are producing worth-while results and which are not. In this connection, the development of appropriate attitude and opinion tests is needed. They should be administered to clubs and classes from time to time in order to determine whether or not any attitudes are being changed, and if so, in what ways, by the respective programs. Community surveys are needed in order to determine how far the group work needs of a given community are being covered.

Ten standards have been set up for evaluation of social group work. A group work agency may measure itself against these measuring rods. It will range from 0 to 100

per cent with reference to each, with a total possible score of 1000 per cent. To have an impartial committee study and rate its activities against these standards from year to year would give it an idea concerning the trends in its evolution as a group work agency. These standards may now be placed together in a single exhibit.

#### TEN STANDARDS OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK

1. Solving personality problems of the personnel of its groups.
2. Acting in a liaison capacity between case work agencies and its own group life.
3. Serving the community in which it operates in terms of community organization and leadership.
4. Supplying its services to all in its area in need of them between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four.
5. Organization of the leisure time of its clientele in terms of avocations and appropriate hobbies for each person.
6. Keeping personality records fully, accurately, and confidentially of all its group members.
7. Training each of its group members in the art and science of leadership.
8. Increasing the democratic and co-operative spirit of its group members.
9. Training its volunteer workers.
10. Maintaining a research and evaluation bureau.

In general summary, then, it may be said that group work is good to the extent that group members are conditioned to live primarily in terms not of getting but of giving, and in terms not of ordering and forbidding, but of sharing and arousing latent creativeness in behalf of social welfare. That group work is of greatest value which provides not for pleasant hours but for creative hours, not

for rearranging beautiful pictures but for creating beautiful pictures, and not for enjoying the company of others but for making the company of others more enjoyable. Group work ranks the highest that provides not for stimulating others, but for making others more stimulating, not for thinking up new ideas by which to keep others busy but for making others more creative. Since informal education is more effective than the formal education of the classroom and since group work may be informal education par excellence, the group worker thus has the opportunity of becoming the leading educator of a large portion of the human race.

## Population and Migration Notes

THE MEASUREMENT OF POPULATION GROWTH. By ROBERT R. KUCYZNSKI. New York: Oxford University Press, 1936, pp. v+255.

Noted population expert Robert R. Kucyznski has undertaken two worthy tasks in this book, that of disciplining the methodology employed in ascertaining correct fertility reports, and that of indicating the procedure for obtaining more correct data capable of being utilized for measuring more exactly fertility, mortality, and population growth. The author demonstrates that basic birth data are far from perfect at present, and that the determination of actual population growth is largely a matter of estimation. Some interesting conclusions on various population data are presented by means of the usage of English vital statistics, namely, the observation that "if fertility and mortality remain constant, the population will ultimately decrease by 26.6 per cent within each generation, or by 10.3 per 1,000 per year," and fertility and mortality remaining constant, resulting in a stable population, "the birth rate will decrease from 14.4 to 11.1 and the death rate will increase from 12.3 to 21.4." Thus with fertility and mortality remaining what they were in 1933, the population of England would reach its peak in 1943, and then decrease constantly until the year 2000 when the stable population point would be reached. At that point, "the population would then decrease by 26.6 per cent every generation, i.e., every thirty years." The book is filled with many valuable statistical tables, showing among other things, the mean population in western and northern European countries from 1841-1933, and the number of women of child-bearing ages, 1871-1933.

M. J. V.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF POPULATION. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Calcutta, India: N. M. Ray Chowdhury & Company, 1936, pp. 139.

This book should prove to be most interesting to American sociologists from several points of view: first, it presents in part the presidential address of Professor Sarkar as given at the First Indian Population Conference at Lucknow University in 1936; secondly, it demonstrates the extent to which Indian scholars have succeeded in digesting European and American sociological thought; and thirdly, it presents the conception of sociology held by Professor Sarkar. With reference to the latter, it may be said that he is inclined to

accept Duprat's version of sociology as "the study of any and every phenomenon that may be described as social or bearing upon social relationships."

Since he believes that "no study can be more legitimate for sociology than that of population, the source as it is of all sorts of social processes and forms," the resultant conviction comes that population is the keynote to sociology, and that it must be interested in every aspect of the population from the biological and the eugenic to the criminological, the sanitary, the pedagogic, the economic, and the political. This, of course, places the author at once with the demographical school of sociologists, except where his Indian philosophy makes him take certain departures. It is true, as some one has indicated, that without a knowledge of population problems, one cannot grasp the essentials of sociological problems any more than one can grasp the essentials of chemistry without first having a knowledge of the elements of compounds.

The principal contribution here is in the nature of a critique upon some of the popular eugenic proposals for race betterment and upon neo-Malthusianism. There is also an answer made upon philosophical grounds to the Spenglerian idea of the decline of Western civilization. Sarkar promotes the idea that new groups emerging from older ones arise to reinvigorate the march of progress. This is, of course, consistent with the Indian philosophy of evolution as expressed in the Vedantic literature. The author is not in agreement with those population experts who are wedded to an optimum theory, holding that "there is no logical and necessary connection between the reduced number (of people) and increased or unchanged output." By a kind of philosophical legerdemain, he holds out hope that everything will evolve naturally without the aid of the birth selectivists and the optimum theorists. Although dualism pervades the conclusions of the book, it is worth reading.

M. J. V.

**WORLD IMMIGRATION.** By MAURICE R. DAVIE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. x+588.

Professor Davie's book is in the nature of a survey of immigration throughout the world, with special emphasis again upon the United States. Analyses are given of the various types of immigrants who have come here, as well as of the social problems which have been created by these types. There is some good solid outlining of the development of our immigration policies, and of the administration of the laws in connection with these.

The author nicely summarizes the diverse points of view which

have arisen over the problems attendant upon race mixture and acculturation. He draws the conclusion that races are the products of isolation and inbreeding, while cultural development is a consequence of contact and communication, resulting in the introduction of new methods and divergent ideas. Therefore, it does not follow that racial purity will yield a superior culture. The whole controversy over the effects of racial amalgamation, declares the author, is without point. A most valuable list of the best autobiographies and biographies of immigrants is given at the close of the book. M. J. V.

HUMAN GENETICS AND ITS SOCIAL IMPORT. By S. J. HOLMES. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936, pp. viii+414.

Students and lay readers who are familiar with Dr. Holmes' *Trend of the Race* will welcome this new book of his on a similar theme. Certainly, no one is better qualified to present the particular phases of the subject matter involved. One can, furthermore, be assured of a genuinely scientific treatment, offered in a simple and lucid manner, and quite free from overstatement and irritating dogmatism. Dr. Holmes has made his preface reveal the point of view adopted, that of presenting those phenomena of human heredity and natural increase, and the social consequences that are the products of biological factors.

The discussion of the cellular basis of heredity which introduces the subject is given adequately, and provides a challenging and informative chapter. Usually, this material is given in such a complex manner that the student is apt to be bewildered, rather than interested. The whole subject of heredity including variation, the Mendelian laws, and the linkage of traits is offered, with the idea of demonstrating their applicability to social problems.

Particularly valuable is the discussion which centers about the selective nature of mortality. Here is shown that although lethal selection as it now works may be eugenic in character, yet reproductive selection may be working at cross-purposes. The high birth-rate classes from the lower social strata have the greater net fertility despite their higher mortality rates. Our only hope for improving the race is noted as a more thoroughgoing eugenic education. As it is, only a small percentage of people are as yet aware of eugenic implications in racial betterment, and the elimination of the unfit is pursued in a most desultory fashion. The book concludes by quoting Bertrand Russell's famous prediction that "each generation will become stupider than its predecessors" for the next two hundred years. If so, we

shall be "less and less likely to remedy our racial ills," thinks Dr. Holmes. Hence, he declares that we are really at the critical point of challenge. Shall we go ahead and guide our biological development, or do nothing and sink back into simian oblivion? M. J. V.

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## Social Theory Notes

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY. By FLOYD NELSON HOUSE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936, pp. viii+456.

To trace successfully the development of both social theory and sociological thought from earliest times to the present is a task that is difficult at best, and, one might say, almost impossible if the complete record is to be encompassed within the confines of one volume. Professor House has, of course, graciously acknowledged that his book is not intended to be exhaustive, but merely comprehensive. As such, then, it may be judged to be a worth-while contribution, although one misses the emphasis that might have been placed upon the social theory of the ancient Eastern civilizations, which most surely must have influenced the early Greek thinkers, and which certainly affected some of the more prominent European social philosophers of a much later date.

Noting that the drive toward objectivity of the social sciences began with that of political science, the author devotes his first important discussion to the development of social theory as it grew out of political theory. From this point, he sketches lightly the growth and development of the philosophy of history, and the beginnings of psychological sociology and of collective psychology. This is a valuable discussion, and its presentation in simple, lucid style will be welcomed by many a graduate student. It may well serve as a stimulus for more profound research studies in the various fields indicated.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the book for the student will be found in the brief summaries of the social thought of the continental sociologists, Simmel, von Wiese, Spann, Litt, Vierkandt, Tonnies, and Pareto. Professor House has pursued the meritorious task of selecting and then analyzing the most significant contributions of each of these men. The book, on the whole, is a worthy companion to the three outstanding books in the field, namely, Bogardus' *History of Social Thought*, Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*, and Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories*. M. J. V.

**NATIONAL LIBRARIES AND FOREIGN SCHOLARSHIP.** By DOUGLAS WAPLES AND HAROLD D. LASSWELL. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936, pp. xiii+152.

The authors have attempted to analyze the foreign social science materials in outstanding libraries in both Europe and the United States. The various reasons for certain selections are analyzed and compared with the social situation existing in each country, which would have a bearing on causing certain materials to be excluded. Oftentimes these social situations, such as censorship, have a direct influence on the libraries and thus forbid the acquisition of valuable material. Four appendixes are included which list the various libraries studied, giving the materials of foreign authorship which are upon their shelves, by both authors and titles. R. H. H.

**THE SOCIAL THOUGHT OF THE ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS.** By JOYCE O. HERTZLER. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1936, pp. xv+409.

On the flyleaf page of this commendable treatise summarizing the social thought of the ancients, Professor Hertzler most appropriately places the quotation from Ecclesiastes which states: "There is no new thing under the Sun. Is there a thing whereof it may be said, See this is new? It hath been long ago in the ages which were before us." and as one reads, there is the added impression that the old French proverb *Plus Ça Change* is fraught with practical wisdom. Sociologists, as the author holds, have been somewhat conscious of the inherent value of the social thought of the past, but few have conceded that there lurks any specific contributions in those civilizations preceding the Greeks. Professor Bogardus has, however, in his *History of Social Thought* given much attention to this. Since Greek civilization and culture have doubtless been the result of much diffusion from previous cultures, it is hardly necessary to dwell upon the fallacy of sociologists in general as far as this is concerned.

Professor Hertzler extensively dwells upon the social thought of the early Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Hindus, Chinese, and Hebrews. Egyptian social thought is shown to have taken "the form of examination of human nature, social description, social criticism, social admonition . . . a certain amount of social analysis, and some social reconstruction or utopianism." A chief contribution of the Babylonians has been that of detailed reve-

lation of their economic, psychological, and political life. Very valuable will be the chapter on the social thought of early India, a subject neglected for the most part until the advent of Professor Motwani's *Manu, A Study in Hindu Social Theory*. While the treatment here is acceptable, much more might have been made by Hertzler of the psychological implications of Hindu thought. Chinese thought is noted for its remarkable contributions to the subject of social control, and for its inquiries into human nature and its meaning. A significant comment is made about the old Hebrew proverbs:

When one considers at the same time their highly utilitarian nature one wonders whether they are not in large part responsible for the individualistic utilitarian philosophy of life so current among Western peoples with its emphasis on sanctions and rewards.

Several conclusions are sketched as a result of the study as follows: (1) the amazing and unexpected social erudition of the ancients; (2) the frequent parallels of thought and also the implied uniformities of institutional equipment and social routines which existed among these ancient cultures; and (3) the evidence, as yet untested scientifically, of the vast mutual influencing and exchange of social thought in the past. This is indeed a most valuable book, and should suggest numerous ideas for further research projects. M. J. V.

INTELLECTUAL REALISM AND CULTURE CHANGE. By  
JAMES W. WOODWARD. Minneapolis: The Sociological Press,  
1935, pp. 198.

In this book, which is a preliminary study of reification, the author presents an involved treatise in the field of the social philosopher. The book is perhaps too advanced for the average student of sociology until he has had considerable training in philosophy. Reification, which is here considered as a process in social rigidity and social change, is to be defined as a "general term for a whole group of reality-positing and reality-extending tendencies which . . . are related genetically." It is pointed out in this work that concepts and ideals are too frequently concretized so that real understanding is lost. This process is especially the situation in social psychology, sociology, and social anthropology. In concluding his work, the author points out that it is reification and the vested interests which prevent society from being able to readjust as fast as modern change demands. R. H. H.

## Family and Child Welfare Notes

READINGS IN THE FAMILY. By ERNEST R. GROVES and LEE M. BROOKS. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934, pp. xxv+326.

This book of readings brings together significant articles from the field of literature relating to family and family problems. The readings are grouped under chapter headings dealing with topics such as the social significance of the family, historical aspects of the family, the modern American family, social and economic conditions affecting American family life, pathology of the family, changes in family life and organization as affected by legislation, education, economic conditions, and eugenic philosophy.

This book represents a considerable improvement over many "Readings" in that most of the readings are short and do not overlap other readings. As a consequence, there is a wealth of material collected and placed in the hands of students. G. B. M.

PROBLEMS OF CHILD WELFARE. By Dr. GEORGE B. MANGOLD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936, pp. xvi+549.

For almost a quarter of a century this has been the standard, as well as about the only text in child welfare available to universities and practicing social workers, and although it has had one revision, the recent developments in knowledge, method, and economic conditions have called emphatically for this new edition.

I know of no book which so thoroughly illustrates the encyclopædic nature of social work, an area of knowledge so vast that it defies the powers of any single person to learn enough of it to be really proficient in an all-around mastery of its subject matter. The author deals with economic data, with the recent, as well as the established, psychological and psychiatric concepts, and with the precise and extensive subject matter of medicine. He is concerned with substantive and administrative law and embraces within his discussion the elusive phenomena of personality. Against any objection that this is too large a field, the pertinent reply is that without such material there can be no understanding of child welfare, to say nothing of social work. It might be more effective, in a single book, to refer oftener to authorities, or even to leave to them the presentation of their own material, such as questions in medicine, and to limit the treatment in such a book as this to the associated social questions; but the book would then cease to be as complete a statement of the problems of child welfare as it is, and would become an index of sources.

The failures and the successes of social work are likewise indicated in this comprehensive survey, although rather more in an incidental manner than are the data themselves. It is clear that public opinion, law, and the state have been brought a long way within the short century of conscious social effort in matters of universal education, education for special groups, and in bridging the gap between education and living; that the world of the child today is indeed a new world, such as he never before enjoyed; that there are even in this country assurances of economic protection assuring a standard of living for most imperiled children that their fathers had not known. But, on the other hand, it is evident that there are areas in child welfare, as well as in general social work, which quite baffle our efforts; that the cultural lag of thoughtless individualism in public opinion, in industry, in legislation, and in judicial decisions blocks progress that is now long overdue; and that the subtle problems of personality against which we have pitted the best brains of our generation still remain beyond our power of control.

It is unfortunate that this identity of the fate of the child with that of his adult associates is not more frankly acknowledged. It would save the book from occasional lapses into partial discussions, as in the matter of mothers' allowances, as well as from such statements as "In the modern program of social improvement emphasis has been shifted from family to child welfare" with which the book starts out. In addition to this questionable slant, there are other defects to be deplored in a book which is so ambitious and in which there is such a monumental body of social data and social work method. It is not always accurate in its facts, or in its citations; its documentation leaves something to be desired, in fact, this the reviewer felt quite keenly as statements, tables, and recitals of primary importance occur without any documentary evidence. Also, to the reviewer the book seemed at times uncritical, in some instances where the critical material is available, such as the social as contrasted with the genetic aspects of mental deficiency, and as the findings of the Gluecks' respecting the effectiveness of the treatment of juvenile offenders by our best juvenile agencies.

The strength of the book consists in its bringing together an altogether unprecedented amount of material bearing upon the factual data of social work—not only of child welfare. The teacher, with such a start, can supply the other material to amplify its point of view and the social worker, the facts of life to subject its hypotheses to the test of experiment.

Frank J. Bruno  
Washington University.

## Social Research Notes

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL RESEARCH. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Los Angeles: Suttonhouse Ltd., 1936, pp. xi+237.

This new volume renders a unique and valuable service, this time, not to the professorial fraternity, but to college students and lay readers, "that they may have within convenient compass a treatise on the elements of research." The book has been written "so that any intelligent person can understand and equip himself with scientific techniques of investigation." This is all most welcome, most refreshing, and gives hope that shortly civic groups, sprinkled with college graduates, will be technically equipped to co-operate with intelligent effectiveness in social research projects of public concern.

This comprehensive handbook of research methods explains how to make social maps portraying population, housing, racial, or delinquency data, how to observe accurately, how to use statistics vividly yet truthfully, how to interview people as individuals and in groups, how to convert life histories into valuable source material, how to make social case analyses and evaluate personal interview data without subjective bias, how to present factual material illuminatingly to the public, and how to write up the results of a research study convincingly and with precision.

The author has done well to harness into one team and make pull together those two recalcitrant ponies, statistical analysis and social case analysis. He quite properly says that each has a legitimate place in research, each has an indispensable function to perform, and "all techniques should be joined together in a common attack on baffling problems." The illustrative material and questionnaires are timely and appropriate.

One or two minor defects possibly deserve notice. The bibliographies are ample but limited to American authorities. The type is easy on the eye, all except the painfully small type on the title page. The cover might have been more attractive, to catch the eye of the collegiate and lay reader; even staid faculty members are responsive to colorful binding.

George M. Day  
Occidental College

# Foreign Sociological Notes

*Edited by*

EARLE EUBANK, University of Cincinnati

*Baltic Countries*, the third issue of which appeared in May, 1936, is a new publication containing much material which should be of interest to sociologists. It is published by the Baltic Institute, Gdynia, Poland, under the editorship of Jozef Borowik, and an editorial committee representing the several countries of that region.

The editorial policy is stated as that of presenting information on the conditions of life and on the development of the Baltic region. "Special regard is paid to the establishment of contacts, and to the investigation of the various causes of conflicts, past and present, estranging the different nations," . . . attention is to be devoted to "the history, geography, and economics of the region, [and to] its cultural and political, social and religious structure." . . . "It is believed that by fostering cultural and scientific co-operation among (the different nations) better relations will be brought about between them, together with a keener appreciation of the community of their interests."

Considerable sections of the journal are classified under "Economics and Sociology," and "Cultural Relations." The current issue contains an excellent discussion of the work and influence of Dr. Florian Znaniecki of the University of Poznan, who is so widely and favorably known to American sociologists through his teaching and lecturing in this country as well as through his writings.

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Among the distinguished scholars from abroad who were presented with honorary doctorates by Harvard University at its Tercentenary celebration in September, were two notable sociologists: Dr. Corrado Gini of Rome, president of the Italian division, and Dr. R. Maunier of Paris, correspondent of the French division, of the International Federation of Sociology. The former has been on the visiting faculty of Harvard during the past year.

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A world-wide invitation to sociologists and all others interested in the development of religious freedom and interreligious friendship and co-operation, has been extended by the Indian Executive Committee to attend the Parliament of Religions, to be held in Calcutta in March, 1937. This parliament is the climax of a year's celebration of that Centenary of Sri Ramakrishna, born February 20, 1836,

"prophet of freedom of conscience, harmony of faiths, religious toleration and interracial amity."

In the United States, the Centenary has been celebrated in New York City, Providence, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and elsewhere. Among other countries participating have been England, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Poland, Russia, and China.

The death is announced of Dr. Roberto Michels, distinguished German-born sociologist of the University of Perugia, Italy.

Dr. and Mrs. Emory S. Bogardus, and their daughter Ruth, spent the summer in the Far East. They observed new social developments in Japan, Manchukuo, Eastern China, and the Philippines, and particularly the sociological work being done by Oriental sociologists, such as S. E. Macaraig (University of the Philippines), S. L. Fu (National Sun Yet-sen University), C. F. Lung (Ginling College), Frank Yen (Central University), S. F. Ko and S. I. Wu (University of Nanking), and W. T. Wu, C. Y. Yen, and H. C. Chang, (Yenching University).

## Pacific Sociological Society Notes

(Northern Division)

The northern division of the Pacific Sociological Society met jointly with section K of the western division of the A. A. A. S. at the University of Washington, Seattle, June 15-17. Sociologists, social workers, economists, and political scientists both in the field and in academic posts gathered to consider the problem of Social Security.

The sociologists and social workers bore witness to the fact that *we need provision for social security* on a community basis, since we can not now keep ourselves secure acting on an individualistic basis. Miss Ruth FitzSimons, Assistant Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, presented facts in detail which indicated the extent and urgency of the need. Dr. Joseph Cohen, of the Department of Sociology of the University of Washington, described the social repercussions of the present insecurity—the growth of groups which advocate various partial schemes impossible of accomplishing the objective, and in some cases freighted with the additional dangers of fascism. Only a sound economic system which will enable us to end the intolerable stupidity of dire want in the midst of plenty will conserve the joy of youth, the strength of labor, and the experience of age. Only a beginning has been made by existing legislation.

The economists struggled with the question, *how can we get this much desired social security?* Who will pay the bill? Professor James K. Hall pointed out that since the customer cannot be made to accept much of the bill, and employers will not relinquish profits, the workers themselves will have to contribute from their wages to pay the cost of making themselves economically secure. It is doubtful if this will increase their present purchasing power, or finally make them really secure.

However, Professor Clement Akerman of Reed College asked pointedly, "Can we afford the cost of *insecurity*?" Perhaps we can equalize it or distribute it more justly by the use of the principle of insurance. Dr. W. A. Carrothers, of the Economic Council of British Columbia, brought out the point that those who supply our needs may be overanxious to make as much profit as possible by limiting output, and so they squeeze the neck of the bottle from which our cups are filled. Those who can supply their own wants by means of co-operative effort are less likely to stint themselves or to exploit their fellows. Co-operation may offer a way out between individual enterprise and government management.

Political scientists concentrated on the third question, namely, "*How can the system of social security now set up in the United States be effectively administered?*" Mr. Charles F. Ernst, Director of the State Department of Public Welfare, pointed out the fact that states are partially responsible for the administration of social security under the federal act. It would help the administration if citizens would consider social security more as a matter of common concern, and less as an opportunity for partisan activity.

Professor Edmond Spellacy of Political Science described the methods whereby centralized administration can and at present does maintain standards of administrative work by lesser agencies, that is, through the taxing power, by grants-in-aid only on fulfillment of specified conditions, and by prescription of rules for fiscal operations.

But how can the vast sums collected from citizens as reserves to care for future risks and dangers be safeguarded from ill-considered action by Congress under the influence of powerful pressure groups? Despite the cautious advice of experts public clamor sometimes overcomes prudence. So the last session met to consider how men of light and leading in the community can get together to thresh out the principles of social security, and how their findings can be made known to a wider public.

In addition to these proceedings, two technical reports were given. The Committee on Research of the Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, under the chairmanship of Dr. C. W. Topping, University of British Columbia, presented a report on Research in the Pacific Northwest. The Committee on Teaching the Introductory Course, Charles H. Dann, Chairman, reported on a survey of how schools of the Pacific Northwest are handling the course. The advisability of a survey course in social science was raised in discussion.

During the two business meetings of the Northern Division of the Pacific Sociological Society, Professor Fred R. Yoder of Washington State College was elected Chairman, N. S. Hayner of the University of Washington was elected to the Research Committee, and Charles H. Dann of Oregon State College was elected chairman of the Committee on Teaching. John A. Rademaker of the University of Washington was elected permanent secretary. Dr. H. B. Woolston asked the expression of an official attitude of the northern division toward three proposals which he is preparing to present to the American Sociological Society in December. The division approved each of the three proposals unanimously and asked Dr. Woolston to present the proposals to the American Sociological Society as officially approved suggestions of the northern division of the Pacific Sociology Society. Drs. H. B. Woolston and Charles H. Dann were elected as representatives to the general council of the western division of the A. A. A. S.

John A. Rademaker,  
Secretary.

## Social Drama Notes

DEAD END. A Play in Three Acts by SIDNEY KINGSLEY. New York: Random House, 1936, pp. 157.

"The contrast of difference and wretchedness is like dead and living bodies chained together." This quotation from Thomas Paine, printed as a foreword, strikes the key-note for the theme of *Dead End*, a play of vivid comparisons through both implications and studied applications. Not for Puritans, nor for those whose sensibilities are easily attacked, the drama offers a powerful and moving exhibition of the making of the gangster, or the so-called public enemy. Unique in its setting, it takes on much of its vivid and thrilling action from the very nature of this setting—the dead end of a New York street which ends at a wharf over the East River. The exclusive East River Terrace Apartments are found rearing their opulent back portals squarely against the street of squalid tenement houses. Tenement dwellers, toughs, boys' gangs, prostitutes, G-Men, policemen, and wharf rats emerge upon the scene from time to time, while in sharp contrast, the rich patrons of the Apartments now and then rub elbows with them. But it is the youngsters of the street who cause attention to be riveted upon the river wharf. They utilize this for diving into the river, which is murky with sewerage at this point. Their conversation turns out to be as filthy as the slime into which they dive. Mr. Kingsley shows these boys, underprivileged, undernourished, as already on their way to reform schools, to criminal careers, to the "big houses." And he does it with sympathetic understanding of their plight.

Lacking in any definite plot, the play, nevertheless, is a compelling social document, recording with deft touches the drab lives of those who live in what might be called the tunnel trenches of a metropolitan community. As a study of the boys who grow up in the vicinity of the grimy waterfront, it ranks as a fine sociological study, with sharp, penetrating glances into their mental processes. The play will afford for the student of the unadjusted boy a rare opportunity for greater psychological insight into his personality and his problems.

M. J. V.

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